Men's use of violence against intimate partners: A study of working men in Cape Town

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Declaration

I, Naeemah Abrahams, hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is original and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other University.

Signed Date

Signed by candidate 22/08/2002.

Naeemah Abrahams

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List of abbreviations

ADAPT	Agisanang Domestic Abuse, Prevention and Training
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CBO	Community based Organisation
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERSA	Centre for Epidemiology and Research in Southern Africa
CDC	Centers for Disease Control
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
CI	Confidence Intervals
CIAC	Crime Information Analysis Centre
COSATU	Congress for South African Trade Unions
CTS	Conflict Tactic Scale
DACST	Department Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DoH	Department of Health
FAMSA	Family and Marriage Society of South Africa
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
HIV	Human immune deficiency Virus
IMATU	Independent Municipal Allied Trade Union
INCLEN	International Clinical Epidemiologists Network
IRNVAW	International Research Network on Violence Against Women
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MRC	Medical Research Council
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
NPPHCN	National Progressive Primary Health Care Network
OSW	Office of the Status of Women
OR	Odds ratio
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
RR	Relative risks
SA	South Africa

SADHS	South African Demographic and Health Survey
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SSA	Statistics South Africa
STD	Sexually transmitted disease
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

Abstract

Name: **Naeemah Abrahams**

Title: **Men's use of violence against intimate partners: A study of working men in Cape Town**

Violence against women is a universal problem and is widely recognised as a fundamental barrier to women's health and gender equality. Working with men to change their behaviour is increasingly acknowledged as a critical part of the solution to the problem. Data on risk factors that explain men's use of violence have been limited. Such data is required before interventions can be developed.

The aims of this study aims was to describe the prevalence of different types of violence men use against their partners, as well as the risk factors for men's use of such violence. The study was based among men working at three municipalities in Cape Town. A random sample of 1800 names was chosen, from among which 1414 interviews were held. Prevalence estimates and risk factor analyses for use of violence against an intimate partner were done.

Overall 46% reported using physical violence, 15% sexual violence, 55% verbal abuse, 42.2% used emotional and 13.5% reported economic abuse. The prevalence of hitting a woman in the last year was 8.8%. Factors associated with the use of physical violence included verbal abuse, ethnicity, higher education, active in religious activities, involvement in fights at work, alcohol use, justifying hitting a woman, a partner that is less educated, a partner that uses alcohol, conflicts about sex, about infidelity and when a woman is perceived to undermine male authority. Risk factors for sexual violence overlapped with the above but important differences were men who use sexual violence were younger, had more than1 current partner and reported conflicts about sex.

The findings show that the men's risk of violence is a product of interaction between men's personal and relationship characteristics, which are influenced directly and indirectly by societal structures, ideas and institutions. It also showed that women's unequal position in relations and society is a critical factor that interacts with a web of complimentary factors to produce violence against intimate partners. These multiple factors pose a challenge for successful intervention programmes for men.

Chapter 1

The problem of violence against women

"Paradoxically, while the world recognises apartheid and slavery for what they were, it is having difficulty recognising violence against women for what it is: a flagrant violation of every human rights instrument invented in the twentieth century" (Piliso-Seroke 1999).

1.1 Introduction

Violence against women[1] is a public health problem accounting for many negative health outcomes for women (Campbell 2002, Heise *et. al.* 1999). It is a universal problem that transcends social, economic and cultural groups. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and women's organisations have been trying for more than 3 decades to bring this problem to the international agenda. It only received recognition as a human rights violation in 1993 (United Nations 1993), and in the following year its relationship to population and development was acknowledged (United Nations 1994, United Nations1995). In 1996 the World Health Organisation (WHO) recognised gender violence as a public health priority (World Health Organisation1996).

Over the past decade a body of research on masculinities has been built internationally and the exploration of the men's use of violence against intimate partners has been an integral part of this knowledge. Although not all masculinities are violent and therefore not all men are violent, overwhelmingly a culture of violence emerges as part of being a man. Kaufman (2001) identified factors that are linked to men's use of violence. These are the social power and privileges that men gain by being part of male dominated societies, the social sanctions of violence against women and men's childhood when boys are witnesses to and recipients of violence. These factors resonate the findings from the earlier work of Levinson (1989) in which he studied several cultures across the world and found that the factors associated with violence against women were economic

[1] The terms violence against women , gender violence and abuse is used interchangeably in this thesis

inequalities between men and women, male control of the home, using violence as a means to resolve conflict and divorce restrictions for women.

Understanding the predictors of the use of violence is crucial for developing prevention and intervention efforts to deal with the violence. However, a huge gap exists in describing the epidemiology of men's use of violence against intimate partners. One of the main reasons for the lack of risk factors studies among men is that although men have been seen as part of the problem they have not been viewed as part of the solution. This has changed in the last few years and the role of changing men's behaviour as part of dealing with violence against women is being viewed by both service organisations and policy makers as critical.

1.2 Defining gender violence

Violence against women encompasses a wide range of violations against women and girls and includes any number of behaviours that serve to undermine the physical, sexual and emotional integrity of women. This is captured in the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1995. The Declaration states violence against women includes:

> *"Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life."* (United Nations 1995)

This refers especially to the roots of the violence stemming from power imbalances between men and women. The Declaration further elaborates that violence against women should be inclusive of:

> *"Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family and in the general community including battering, sexual abuse of female children, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women,*

forced prostitution, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the state" (United Nations 1995).

This has been the recommended definition to be used as the foundation for all research activities (Koss 2001) but it covers a very broad area of harmful treatment of women occurring in both public and private spheres. Most research has focussed separately on different forms of abuse such as research on female genital mutilation or trafficking of women. However most of the research activities have been in the area of 'domestic violence' defined as intimate partner violence - referring to violence perpetrated by intimate male partners (including current or former husband or boyfriend).

Up till now the lack of definitional consistency in gender violence research has been identified as one of the major flaws of the research of this form of violence (Hegarty *et. al.* 1999). This was discussed by Koss (2001) in her address to the International Research Network for Violence Against Women (IRNVAW). She noted that researchers and activists defined the violence within their disciplinary perspectives. Researchers from the field of criminology tend to define sexual violence narrowly within legal frameworks while the definition promoted by the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), i.e. the public health perspective, overemphasises physical injuries (Centers for Disease Control 1999). The WHO bases its definition of gender-based violence for its multi-country study on the UN definition. They however located their definition only within the domestic domain, i.e. violence against women in relationships (intimate partner violence and sexual violence by non-intimates) (World Health Organisation 1999a).

In contrast family violence researchers such as Straus (1979) in their earlier work, defined violence as an act carried out with the intention of or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person. They developed the first tool - the Conflict Tactic Scale to measure family violence (including both partners as victims and perpetrators and children as victims only). This scale has been widely noted to have limitations. It was designed to measure conflict tactics and does not consider the context of the conflict, nor does it consider coercion as the underlying factor in intimate partner violence and concentrate on physical violence whilst ignoring sexual violence, (Dobash and Dobash 1992, Yllö 1998). Although it has been adapted into the CTS2 (Straus *et. al.* 1996), it continues to be inadequate in its ability to measure emotional and sexual

abuse (Hegarty *et. al.* 1999). Despite this, the CTS has been used widely in many settings and numerous researchers have adapted it, including those designing the questionnaire for the WHO Multi-country study on domestic violence (World Health Organisation 1999a).

In response to the lack of a consensus of the definition of violence against women, the CDC in a consultative process developed a set of '*uniform definitions and recommended data elements*' which could be used mainly in the collection of public health surveillance data on intimate partner violence (Centers for Disease Control 1999). There are some overlaps between the CDC definitions and those used by WHO (World Health Organisation 1999a) and these together with other definitions used in epidemiological research are presented below to describe the different types of violence. Both the CDC and the WHO definitions are presented in Figure 1.

Centers for Disease Control
Pattern of coercive control of one intimate partner against another that includes physical and sexual violence, threats of physical or sexual violence, and emotional abuse in the context of physical and sexual violence (Centers for Disease Control 1999).

WHO Multi-country study
Any act or omission by a family member (most often a current or former husband or boyfriend), regardless of the physical location where the act takes place, which negatively effects the well being, physical or psychological; integrity, freedom or right to full development of a woman (World Health Organisation 1999a).

Figure 1.1: Definitions of intimate partner violence

1.2.1 Physical abuse

Physical violence is the intentional use of physical force with the potential to cause harm, injury, disability and death. This may include but are not limited to pinching, slapping, hitting, scratching, punching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, shaking, poking, choking hair pulling, burning, the uses of weapons (sticks, knives, guns or other objects) the use of physical restraints and the use of body size or strength against another person. The most common acts included in the most recent population prevalence studies are hitting, kicking and slapping (Martin *et. al.* 1999a, Hoffman *et. al.* 1994, Martin *et. al.* 1999a, Ahuja *et. al.* 2000, Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999a,) with a study of men in Indian (Martin *et. al.* 1999a), one of women in Nicaragua (Ellsberg *et. al.*

1999a) and a South African study being most inclusive (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a).Threats of physical violence are not always included as physical abuse and are mostly defined as an emotional tactic.

1.2.2 Sexual abuse

Sexual coercion has been described as existing along a continuum of force with use of substantial physical force, such as rape at gunpoint, at the one end and non-physical coercion at the other end (Heise *et. al.* 1999). Within this continuum is a wide range of acts by many different perpetrators. The WHO defined these acts as 'forced sex' and 'abusive sexual contact'. Forced sex is defined as a person using force, coercion or psychological intimidation to force another person to engage in a sex act against their will, whether this act is completed or not ((World Health Organisation 1999a).

A list of coercive acts which have been suggested as a potential basis for a working definition of sexual violence has been suggested by the Global Forum for Health Research (2000).This list includes: sexual violence with strangers; sexual violence by male partners in dating relationships and in marriage (verbally forced to have sex such as pleading, tricking or blackmailing to have sex, threats of force, physical forced used, force to have sex with male partner friends, forced sex while male partners drunk/drugged, alcohol and drugs used to prevent women from resisting forced sex), sexual harassment in public and at workplaces (sexual jokes or comments, wolf whistling, touching or rubbing up against body, flashing of genitals, being followed, being watched, repeated propositions or demands for dates, repeated phone calls; threats of violence if dating requests are not met); forced sexual initiation; forced sex, forced degrading sex acts and coercion to have sex because of economic circumstances. 'Forced sex' has been the most common term used in the population studies. In addition, agreement on what constitutes sexual violence amongst academics and activists is hampered by cross-cultural differences in meanings of sexual violence (Bennet *et. al.* 2000).

1.2.3 Emotional/psychological abuse

In the WHO definition emotional abuse refer to any act or omission that "damages the self esteem, or identity' of a person. The abusive behaviour may include but are not limited to: humiliation, degradation, controlling behaviour, forced isolation by family and friends, repeated

yelling, inducing fear through intimidation by gestures or words, threatening to harm the person or individuals they care for, destruction of possessions and threatening the loss of custody of children. A more extensive list of specific behaviours is provided by the CDC in their list of '*uniform definitions and recommended data elements*" (Centers for Disease Control 1999) such as using children to control victims' behaviour and getting a person involved in illegal activities. Both CDC and WHO acknowledge that their definitions may not be inclusive and recommend that researchers' identity the behaviours specific for their research area. For example both the South African (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a) and Indian studies of women (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000) added abandonment and issues of infidelity (unfaithfulness and bragging about girlfriends) to their list of emotional acts. Researchers and advocates have not been able to agree on a complete definition of emotional abuse. The CDC recommendation is that emotional abuse only be considered as a type of violence when there has been prior physical or sexual violence (actual or threats). Psychological abuse would therefore not be considered in the absence of physical and sexual violence. Many studies do not follow this recommendation.

1.2.4 Verbal abuse

This form of abuse has not received separate attention in any of the epidemiology studies. If included, it forms part of the emotional abuse category. The CDC definition does not refer explicitly to verbal abuse. Acts which may be considered as verbal abuse include being shouted at (yelling), being sworn at and being called by rude and degrading names.

1.2.5 Economic abuse

Economic abuse is receiving increased attention and has not been given the same consideration as physical, sexual and emotional abuse. Tactics identified and used by abusers include ensuring that women are chronically short of money, taking away money which they have earned and damaging their possessions. Where it has been measured it has most often been included as a dimension of emotional abuse (World Health Organisation 1999a, Centers for Disease Control 1999, Ellsberg *et. al.*1999b, Yoshihama 1999, Ahuja *et. al.* 2000).

1.2.6 Other issues of definitions

All forms of violence exist along a continuum of severity and coercion and definitions of intimate

partner violence should take into account frequency and severity in their measurement. Some suggestions for measuring severity have been recommended for physical violence only. The CTS divides the physical acts into levels of severity and these have been used in Nicaragua (Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999a). The WHO (World Health Organisation 1999a) refers to severe physical violence as 'violence that leads to external and internal injuries' while CDC (Centers for Disease Control 1999) only provides a broad definition of a 'violent' episode. It is more likely that severity of violence (particular emotional abuse) is linked to the meanings given to different forms of violence by women. This needs to be explored in each community.

'Battering' is another term often used in the literature. It refers to a pattern of abuse which is chronic and of a repetitive nature. This has been well described by Walker (1993).

Some forms of violence against women are culture specific and found in certain communities only. Dowry- related deaths and sex selective abortions are features of domestic violence in India (Rao1997), and female genital mutilation and 'honour killings' are found in countries with Arabic links (Heise 1994a).

1.3 The South African context

South Africa is a country with people from diverse origins. Their ancestry comes from the Khoisan hunter-gathers people that settled in the south, the Nguni-speaking people that settled in the east and the Sotho-speaking people that settled in the North. European explorers appeared in the 15th century with the Dutch East Indian Company establishing an out post in the Cape to provide for passing trade. The Dutch settlers brought with them their slaves and used the Cape to incarcerate political prisoners from the Malaysian archipelago. This was followed by a British occupation and as the settlers moved inland many wars resulted in the conquest of the Xhosa and Zulu people. The discovery of diamonds and gold in the late 1800's changed the socio-economic and political path of the country and the control of the rich mining resources resulted in a long war between the British and the Boers. In addition, at the beginning of 1900 the British brought indentured labourers from India to work on the sugar plantations of Natal. Many did not return and settled in this area.

Throughout the occupation of the country the indigenous African people were excluded from its governance and the blue print of racial segregation was formed when the Land Act in 1913 divided the country into 'White" and 'Black" areas restricting African titled occupation to 7% of the land. In 1948 the white minority gained political power and the rights of Black people were taken away with the systematic passing of Apartheid laws. The development of 'homelands' in the rural regions became the cornerstone of the apartheid system ensuring white economic control of the country. The political struggle of resistance and freedom resulted in many different forms of uprising including a guerilla war - fought from both inside and outside the country until 1990 when open negotiations between the anti-apartheid groups and the government began, resulting in the first democratic election, in 1994. This rich history of the country has resulted in vast economic and cultural diversity and today the country is divided into 9 provinces with a semi-federal governance.

Historically, violence has been a feature of almost all aspects of South African life. The state used different violent mechanisms to enforce their laws and to prevent opposition while in return the resistance movement also used violence as a means to fight the oppressive system (Beinart 1992). Some of the political/structural violence was exposed through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1998) - a process to expose the oppression and to encourage healing from the pain and suffering of the past. However, most of the violence in the country is not of a political nature. Most are related to crime. Between 1982 - 1992, of the 118 000 homicides only 15 000 were politically related (Kane-Berman 1993). Many other aspects of the use of violence in other South African settings have been reported. These are against children by educators (Ramphele 1996), against women using services by government authorities (De Waal 1997) and against women using health care by health workers (Jewkes *et. al.* 1998, Wood *et. al.* 1997). It is thus not surprising that the country gained the reputation as one of the most violent in the world by occupying the first position in the world for homicides (61 homicides per 100 000 population in 1998) (CIAC 2000) and rapes reported to police (70 women aged 18 and over per 100 000 population) (Statistics South Africa 2000). In stark contrast the country had a peaceful transfer of political power in the 1990's. This has given many South Africans hope for their future.

The Apartheid system left a legacy of poverty and inequality with the country having one of the

most skewed income distributions in the world (Malan 2000). The position of women in the country has also been influenced by this history with rural African women being the most affected as evidence in the poverty report (Alderman *et. al.* 2000) and the South African Demographic Health Survey (2002). The unemployment rate (expanded definition of unemployment) has been rising with the rate of 25.8% in 2000 having risen to 29.5% in 2001 (Labour Force Survey 2001). Crime statistics are also showing an increase despite appearing to initially stabilise after 1994. Since 1996 a steady increase has been shown and the most recent figures indicate that violent crime has increased by 7% between 1999 and 2000 (Schönteich *et. al.* 2001). The reasons for the increase in violent crime have been linked to the past violent history as well as an increase in firearms ownership, growth in organised crime and the consequences of a poorly performing criminal justice system (Schönteich *et. al.* 2001).

These inequalities together with the high levels of unemployment and crime are seen as the biggest obstacles preventing economic growth. Since 1994 a strong government policy of gender equality has emerged and violence against women has come to the forefront in the struggle for gender equity. A wide range of governmental mechanisms has been put in place to promote women's rights. The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) is an independent body set up as part of the Constitution to monitor, research and promote gender equality and the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) was established in the Presidents Office to ensure that gender issues are incorporated in policies and programmes. In addition the impact of the budget allocation on gender is continuously being monitored to ensure the promotion of gender equality (Budlender 1998).

It is not within the scope of this thesis to examine in detail why South African society is violent but the specific context of the experiences of both men and women in South Africans have been influential. Violence as a first- line measure to resolve conflict is often condoned and accepted in many South African communities (Simpson 1991). This together with the complex interplay of diverse cultures, colonialism, racial policies and the political struggle have contributed to the experiences of violence both as victims and as perpetrators (Beinart1992, Morrell 1998).

1.3.1 Relationships in South Africa

Pre-marital sexual activity and child bearing are socially accepted and a common feature of South African relationships (Makiwane 1998). Studies on the sexual behaviour of South African teenagers have shown many young people are sexually active (Buga *et. al.* 1996, Richter1996, Matshidze *et. al.* 1999). In general the average age of first sexual intercourse reported by women aged 20 - 49 years in the 1998 *National Demographic and Health Survey* is 18.2 (Department of Health 2002). Lower rates have been reported in studies among youth with the age for boys lower than for girls (Buga *et. al.* 1996, Richter 1996).

The 1998 Demographic and Health Survey (Department of Health 2002) showed that 35% of women under 20 years had been pregnant or had a child. The same survey showed a decrease in fertility since 1980 for women aged 15-19. Qualitative studies have shown that young women are sometimes encouraged to become pregnant by their partners to demonstrate love, fertility and womanhood (Wood *et. al.* 1997, Richter 1996, Varga and Makubalo 1996) and such pregnancies may be more tolerable than the possibility of infertility (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001b).

The median age of first marriage was 24.2 (of all women aged 15 - 49 years). About a quarter were married by the age of 20 but the age differentials showed that the age of first married were increasing. The survey showed that only a third (34%) of the women were currently married while nearly half (48%) were never married. In addition 1 in 10 women were co-habiting with a partner while 4% were separated and 2% were divorced. Of the women currently married, 12.5% were in polygamous unions. This was most common among rural African women. In addition the survey showed that a large proportion (42%) of South African households are headed by women (Department of Health 2002).

Casual relationships and having affairs are also features of relationships in South Africa with both men and women reporting on multiple current partners. In a youth survey nearly half (46%) of the young men reported their current relationships as casual (Richter 1996). More than a quarter (28%) of men 20 years and under, reported two or more sexual partners at the time of the interview (Matshidze *et. al.* 1999) while approximately 1/3 of men in a community survey reported having extra affairs (Nduna *et. al.* 2002). In qualitative studies with young men, the

number of girlfriends was important to attain position and status among peers and having multiple current girlfriends was an indication of 'successful manhood' (Wood and Jewkes 2001). In the demographic health survey 3% of the currently married women reported have more than one sexual partner while this was 7% for non-married women.

In the African culture the institution of marriage is based on "labola" (bride-wealth). This is a payment made by the grooms family to the family of the bride. It has been viewed as the 'purchase of the wife' indicating transfer of ownership of the woman from father to the husband. This custom has been viewed as patriarchal and is not in keeping with the notions of gender equality that is enshrined in the new constitution of the country. In the past, payment was mainly made in the form of cattle but has changed to cash over time. Since many Africans live in poor economic conditions the accumulation of the cash takes a long period and the marriage may be postponed until all or some of the money has been accumulated. This may mean that the couple live together and may even have children before the formalising of the marriage. All of these influence the relationship dynamics in South Africa.

1.3.2 The state response to violence in relationships

Many of the above studies also described physical and sexual coercion within these relationships. Population studies show that overall 1 in 4 women experience physical abuse and one completed rape occurred every 5 minutes for women aged 18-49 during 1998 (Jewkes *et.al.* 2001a, Department of Health 2002). More detail on the prevalence of these forms of violence will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the past decade the basis of the response to gender violence in South Africa emerged mainly from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and women's movements. Their responses grew out of a real need which was not addressed within the formal sector. Their main objectives were to provide services to women who experienced violence and to advocate for the recognition of the problem at governmental level.

Continued pressure from women's organisations together with the emergence of a new democratic government in 1994 ensured a commitment from the government to address the eradication of

violence and sexual inequality. The South African Constitution, said to be one of the best in the world, entrenched the right to freedom from violence and inequality. The Government also stated that it stands to comply with the Beijing Platform of Action (Beijing Conference Report 1994) and many Departments planned radical changes. In December 1995 South Africa became a signatory to The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was formally ratified in 1996. CEDAW is an international human rights treaty developed by the United Nations in 1979 and can be used to expose and eliminate all forms of sex and gender discrimination. More significantly, two important statutory processes have also occurred. The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (this is discussed in Chapter 2) has been passed and came into effect in December 1999 while the new Bill on Sexual Offences (South African Law Commission 2002) is currently being drafted and once passed will ensure that South Africa has one of the most progressive laws regarding violence against women in the world.

These state responses however has focussed mainly on criminal justices responses and very little attention has been given to preventive strategies. More important, until recently men has not been considered as an important part of intervention strategies to address the problem. This is particularly true in South Africa where the problem appears to be complex. The neglect of this area is counterproductive since the reduction in the levels of violence against women depends critically on male behaviour change. The challenge is thus to first understand the factors which increases men's risk of using violence against women. This information will contribute towards one of the many strategies that are required to end such violence.

1.4 Aim of this study

The overall aim of the study is to describe the epidemiology of male perpetration of intimate partner violence, with the intention of informing the development of interventions among men to reduce violence against women.

1.4.1 Study objectives

- To describe the prevalence of self-reported use of violence against women among a group of men in Cape Town.
- To describe and compare the socio-demographic characteristics (i.e. age, education,

income and household structure) of men who do and do not report abusing women.

- To identify risk factors associated with the abuse of women.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organised around seven chapters:

- Chapter 2 describes the epidemiology of violence against women and aim to provide a background to the results of the study findings by focussing on the literature that reports on the prevalence and incidence of violence against women, risk factors for the use of violence, health impact of the violence and interventions that apply to men. An emphasis is placed on public health and South African research, and the integrated ecological framework is used as the conceptual schema for understanding men's use of violence.
- In Chapter 3 the methodology of the study, which was conducted amongst men working at three Cape Town municipalities is presented.
- Chapter 4 is the first of three chapters presenting results and describes the demographic and risk factor profiles for both the men and their female partners. The data are presented mainly in the form of frequencies and proportions. The results and the discussion of the findings are presented together.
- Chapter 5 presents findings on the prevalence estimates of different types of abuse. This is followed by the comparison of the prevalence estimates for specific socio-demographic for physical and sexual violence variables introduced in the previous chapter.
- Chapter 6 presents the findings of the risk factor analysis for the three types of abuse (physical and sexual and current physical abuse).
- The first part of Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the prevalence and risk factor analyses (presented in Chapter 5 and 6). This is followed with an outline of interventions at the workplaces after the completion of the study. It ends with drawing the thesis to conclusion with recommendations for working with men as well as suggestions for follow-up research.

Chapter 2

The epidemiology of violence against women

2.1. Introduction

In the past five years public health researchers have come to recognise the important role of epidemiology in the description and the potential prevention of violence against women (Heise *et. al.* 1999). While most recent research has described the risk and protective factors for violence against women (Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999a, Ahuja *et. al.* 2000, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin (forthcoming)) there is much less knowledge of the epidemiology of men's use of such violence.

In this chapter, both qualitative and quantitative studies on violence against women will be considered. The aim is to answer the following questions:

- What is known about the extent of the problem locally and internationally?
- What is the state of knowledge on risk factors for men using violence?
- What is the public health impact of violence against women?

2.2. Prevalence of violence against women

2.2.1 Physical violence: A global overview

Prevalence estimates in the literature refer mainly to physical violence against women reported by women. Consistently high levels of such violence have been reported in both developed and developing countries. In the *Population Report* Heise *et. al.* (1999) reported on nearly 50 population-based studies (including South Africa) done between 1982 and 1999. Between 10 - 50% of the women reported physical abuse on one or more occasion by an intimate partner sometime in their lifetime. Some of these findings are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Physical assault on women by an intimate male partner: Selected population-based studies, 1982 - 1999

Region/Place (year)	Coverage	Sample			% of adult women physically assaulted by a male partner		
		Size	Popul-ation	Age	In previous 12 months	In current relation-ship	Ever (in any relatio-nship)
African							
Ethiopia (1998)	Meskanena Woreda	673	2	15+	10[h]		45
Kenya (1984-87)	Kisisi District	612	4	15+		42	
Nigeria (1993)p	Not stated	1000	1				31[a]
Egypt (1995-96)	National	7121	3	15 - 49	16[d]		34[b]
Uganda (1995-96)	Lira and Masaka Dst.	1660	2	20 - 44		41	
Zimbabwe (1997))p	Midlands Prov.	966	1	16			32
South Africa (1999)p	**National**	**11 735**	**2**	**15 - 49**	**6.3**		**12.5**
South Africa (2000)p	**Eastern Cape**	**396**	**3**	**15 - 49**	**10.9**		**26.8**
	Mpumalanga	**419**	**3**	**15 - 49**	**11.9**		**28.4**
	Northern Province	**464**	**3**	**15 - 19**	**4.5**		**19.1**
Asia and Pacific							
Australia (1996)	National	6300	1		3[c]	8[c]	
Bangladesh (1992)	National (villages)	1225	2	<50	19		47
India (1999)p	6 states	9938	3	15 - 49	14[e]		40/26[f]
Phillippines (1993)	National	8481	5	15 - 49			10[d]
Latin American							
Nicaragua (1999)p	León	360	3	15-49	27/20[f]		52/47[f]
North America							
United States (1995-96)	National	8000	1	18+	1.3[a]		22[a]
Canada (1993)	National	12 300	1	18+	3[c,g]		29[c,g]
Interviewing men							
India (1999a)p	Aligart	1175	5	15 - 64			28
	Bandha	1717	5	15 - 64			45
	Gonda	1202	5	15 - 64			31
	Kanpur Nagar	1182	5	15 - 64			21
	Nainthal	1417	5	15 - 64			18
Thailand (1994)p	Bangkok	619	6				19.5

Adapted from Heise *et. al.* (1999)

1 = all women
2 = currently married/partnered
3 = ever married/partnered
4 = married women: half with a pregnancy outcome, half without
5 = all men reporting on use of violence against wives
6 = all married men within an intact marriage with at least one child and a wife aged < 45 years

[a]= Sample group included women who had never been in a relationship and therefore were not in an exposed group.
[b]= Rate recalculated from author's data.
[c]= Although sample includes all women rate shown is for ever-married/partnered women.
[d]= Perpetrator could be family member or a close friend.
[e]=severe abuse
[f]=any physical abuse/severe physical abuse only
[g] = physical or sexual violence
[h] = in past 3 months

Thus far only two population studies in males have been reported in the literature. These are a northern Indian study by Martin *et. al.* (1999a) and a Thai study by Hoffman *et. al.* (1994) (prevalence estimates of physical violence shown Table 2.1). The Indian study was part of a male reproductive health survey. It used a systematic multistage sampling technique to sample men between the ages of 15 - 65 years living in households from approximately 400 rural villages in 5 districts in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh. A response rate of 83% was attained and the study reported on 6700 married men. The prevalence of ever using physical violence (hit, slapped, kicked or otherwise physically hurt their wives) ranged between 18 - 45% in the 5 districts, while violence within the last year was not reported (Martin *et. al.* 1999a).

The primary purpose of the Thai study was to determine the effects of overcrowding on marital and family relations. A two-staged probability-proportional-to-size cluster sample design, stratified for population density in the administrative districts of Bangkok was used. A further criterion was married men with "an intact marriage with at least one child, and a wife being no more than 45 years". A total of 2017 households was selected and 619 husbands were interviewed netting a response rate of 87%. Nearly 20% of the Thai husbands reported ever having "hit, slapped or kicked" a wife. The authors report that this finding is almost identical to the prevalence reported by the wives in the bigger study (18.5%) which boosts confidence in the reliability of the reports from the male respondents. This study also did not report on the one year prevalence of physical violence (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994: p. 136).

A third study was conducted among arab-Palestinian men engaged to be married living in three areas in Israel (Haj-Yahia and Edelson 1994). A systematic random sample of 575 men who had been listed with clergymen who conducted and arranged these engagements were recruited via a postal survey. A response rate of 75.6% was attained (N=446). The aim of the study was to explain the men's use of conflict tactics with their fiancees within the frameworks of male dominance, intergenerational learning and interpersonal skills deficit. A modified version of the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS) using 19 items was applied to identify the three types of tactics, i.e., reasoning, verbal and physical tactics, used since the start of the engagement. The analysis of the findings did not focus on the prevalence of the tactics used, and estimates of the prevalence of having used one or more of the physical aggression tactics was not given. Another limitation is that the authors do not say over which period these engagements occurred. However, the

prevalence of the individual acts of physical tactics provides some insight into the men's use physical violence towards their fiancées. Overall 7% of the men reported that on one or more occasion they threw something at them, 8% reported having pushed, grabbed or shoved them, 7.5% reported having kicked their fiancée, 6.4% reported hitting or trying to hit them, 4.5% reporting beating them and 3.5% had threatened them with a gun, while 4.0% had used a knife or a gun.

The variations in prevalence estimates found between studies in both developed and developing countries are of concern and require careful interpretation. The most likely reason for the variation could be due to differences in methodology used. The footnotes accompanying Table 2.1 are an indication of the difficulties in comparing studies. The highest prevalence presented among the 50 studies compared by Heise *et. al.* (1999) were in the earliest studies carried out using non-random sampling techniques (Papua New Guinea in 1982, reported a prevalence of 67% of ever being physical abused). Limitations are created by different definitions used, differences in denominators (all women vs. different groups, e.g., age groups; type of relationships), coverage (national vs. regions/districts/areas) sampling (randomness applied), response rates, methods used (including face-to-face vs. telephone interviews), privacy during interviews, level of training of interviewers, approaching the topic sensitively, use of local interviewers, and language in which interview is conducted could all influence respondents reporting of the violence (Koss 1996).

Differences in prevalence in different regions within one country and within the same study have also been documented, in the studies of men in India (Martin *et. al.* 1999a) and the South African representative study (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a). The problems associated with comparisons between studies and countries are being addressed by the WHO in a multi-country study currently being conducted in seven countries, in which the same study protocol is being used. This will allow for reliable comparison of prevalence estimates in these countries (World Health Organisation 1999a).

2.2.2 Physical violence: A South African overview

For a number of years many organisations and academics in South Africa (Vogelman and Eagle 1991, Ross 1993, Angless 1992, Butchart *et. al.* 1991, Dangor *et. al.* 1998) and internationally (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1995) recognised the huge gap in reliable data in South Africa. Until 1997 no empirical research had been done to answer the question of how big the problem of violence against women was. The absence of data was partly attributed to the apartheid system that created fragmented responses and resources (Vogelman and Eagle 1991). The first South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) was conducted in 1998 and included questions on violence against women. This national representative study interviewed a total of 11 735 women aged between 15 - 49. This study confirmed that intimate partner violence was indeed prevalent in South Africa; the prevalence for ever being physically abused by an intimate partner ranged between 8.7% and17.8% with an average of 12.5% for the whole country (half of whom reported abuse within the last year (6.3%)). The prevalence for each Province is presented in Table 2.2, with the highest being reported in Gauteng (17.8%) and the Western Cape (16.9%) (Department of Health 2002).

The second major representative study by Jewkes *et. al.* (2001a) had a more specific objective: to describe the epidemiology of violence against women in the study areas and to further validate the findings of the national survey (SADHS). A similar sampling frame as the SADHS was used to allow for comparison and 1306 eligible women aged 18-49 years were interviewed in three provinces: Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and Northern Province, representing ±32% of the country (referred to as the Three Province study). A comparison of the prevalence estimates of physical violence in this study and the SADHS is shown in Table 2.2. In general South African prevalence figures were similar to those reported in the US (22%), but lower than the other African countries (Table 2.1).

Higher prevalences overall were reported in the Three Province study compared to the national study, but the size of the differences varied between the provinces. The biggest differences were reported by women in Eastern Cape, with a three-times greater increase in ever experiencing physical abuse and twice more women reporting physical abuse within the last year compared to the SADHS findings.

Table 2.2: Comparison between prevalences of physical and current physical violence in the SADHS and Three Province study

Province	Ever physically abused by partner %		Physically abused by partner in last year %	
	SADHS	3 Province study	SADHS	3 Province study
Western Cape	16.9		8	
Eastern Cape	8.7	26. 8	5.4	10.9
Northern Cape	13.2		7.2	
Free State	12.4		7.3	
Kwazulu-Natal	10.2		5.4	
North West	6.8		4.2	
Gauteng	17.8		7.3	
Mpumalanga	15.2	28.4	7.6	11.9
Northern	8.8	19.1	5.3	4.5
Total	12.5		6.3	

The differences for the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province were not quite as substantial, with the Northern Province reporting the lowest prevalence (19.1%) of ever being physically abused. Women from this province also reported the lowest rate of current physical violence (4.5%) which was even lower than that reported in the SADHS. In a later paper the authors noted that this province reported lower levels of all forms of violence which may suggest that levels of intimate partner violence is generally lower in this area. (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). The findings from the two most recent epidemiological studies were presented for the first time (April 2002) at the 1st South African Gender-Based Violence and Health Conference. The study of women attending antenatal clinics (N = 1395) showed 1 in 2 women reporting lifetime prevalence of physical violence (Dunkle *et. al.* 2002). The study of women who attended the Stepping Stones workshop (N = 181) reported a 34.5% prevalence of physical violence having occurred in their current relationships (Nduna *et. al.* 2002).

The study of women attending a community health centre found that only half the women who reported abuse were willing to talk to the interviewers about their experiences (Jacobs and Suleman 1999). The WHO developed guidelines on how to overcome problems of under-reporting in surveys in preparation for the multi-country study. Recommendations include:

ensuring privacy, confidentiality and safety, and careful selection and intensive training of field-workers to ensure their sensitivity to the issue (World Health Organisation 1999b). These guidelines were followed in the Three Province study and the higher prevalence estimates reported in this study is a demonstration of the effectiveness of a dedicated study on intimate partner violence (Jewkes *et. al.* 2000).

A summary of South African studies reporting on violence against women is presented in Table 2.3.This may not be inclusive of all the studies conducted in the country, but represents those quoted most often by both academia and organisations. Most of the epidemiological studies have been published in the last 4 years. Many of the earlier studies did not start as research on violence against women, but the data which emerged forced the researchers to document it (Glanz and Spiegel 1996, Vundule *et. al.* 2001, Varga and Makubalo 1996). Most of the earlier research took the form of victimology studies (Lawrence 1984, Bollen *et. al.* 1999, Maconadie *et. al.* 1993, Stanton 1993, Van Zyl and Scharf 1989, Camerer *et. al.* 1998), and many were also qualitative (Lawrence 1984, Artz 1999, Wood *et. al.* 1998, Bollen *et. al.* 1999, Maconadie *et. al.* 1993, Stanton 1993, van der Waal 1996, Waldman 1996, Ross 1996, Van Zyl and Scharf 1989, Blumberg *et. al.* 1996). Such research was necessary as the groundwork of Walker (1979) and Pizzey (1974) has shown, and was crucial in highlighting the violence experienced by South African women. Some of the qualitative studies were undertaken with marginalised groups such as the studies presented in Glanz and Spiegel (1996), which were located in squatter camps (de Waal 1996, Waldman 1996, Ross 1996). Other studies were based on populations within certain settings such as health settings (Motsei 1993, Rasool 1995, Jacobs and Suleman 1999, Marais *et. al.* 1999, Blumberg *et. al.* 1996, Dyer *et. al.* 2002a) or in selected groups such as pregnant teenagers (Wood *et. al.* 1998 and Varga and Makubalo 1996), psychiatric female patients (Leon and Thomas 1998), the elderly (Keikelame and Ferreira 2000), workers from the informal sector (Rispel 1995) and from rural settings (de Waal 1997, Artz 1999).

Very little is known about the epidemiology of female homicides in South Africa. The only study done was by Vetten (1995), who did a retrospective study of cases reported in newspapers during 1994. She concluded that a woman was killed by an intimate partner every 6 days in Johannesburg.

Author/s (year)	Sample size and population	Study Design	Aim/s of Study
Matshidze *et. al.* (1999)	National representative sample of 2139 African men aged 16 - 60 years	Questionnaire survey	To describe the men's attitudes and practices of reproductive health and services
Jacobs and Suleman (1999)	Random sample of 412 women attending a day hospital	Questionnaire survey	To describe the prevalence of physical, emotional and sexual abuse and women's use of services
Martin (1999)	Series of rape homicides reported in Cape Town	Record review	To describe the incidence of rape homicide
Marias *et. al.* (1999)	1050 consecutive women of 18 yrs and older attending 16 general practitioners GPs for 3 months (GPs volunteered to participate in study)	Questionnaire survey	To determine the prevalence of abuse and the association between domestic violence and post traumatic distress disorder
CIET/ Africa (1998)	3971 women 2060 men 1471 youth Service providers	Questionnaires survey (households, men, youth and service providers)	To explore and describe sexual violence
Buga *et. al.* (1996)	1975 youth from 22 rural-based schools in Eastern Cape	Questionnaire survey	To describe the pattern of sexual behaviours and reproductive health
Varga and Makubalo (1996)	85 pregnant teenagers aged 19 years and younger attending a rural and a urban health clinic	Interviews	To develop recommendations for AIDS intervention strategies
NPPHCN (1996)	Youth aged 10-20 years in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, North West Province, KwaZulu Natal Eastern Cape & Western Cape	Questionnaire survey and focus groups	To examine young people's knowledge and experiences of sexuality to develop appropriate health messages
Richter (1996)	415 males and 449 females aged 16 - 20 years living in three urban areas (Soweto, Umlazi, Khayelitsha)	Questionnaire survey	To describe knowledge of reproductive functioning, sexual behaviour and understanding of reproductive health protection
Motsei (1993)	398 women presenting after assault at Alexander Clinic over a 2-month period	Record survey	To describe injuries of women and to to evaluate health service response
Quantitative (non-epidemiological studies)			
Naire *et. al.* (2001)	500 sex workers in Johannesburg	Questionnaire survey, focus groups and in-depth interviews	To provide data for public health interventions aimed at improving safer sex work

Author/s (year)	Sample size and population	Study Design	Aim/s of Study
Mathews and Abrahams (2001)	Random selection of 1044 court records of women applying for Protection Order at 2 courts in Cape Town 23 women who had applied	Record review and interviews with women	To explore the impact of the new Domestic Violence Act (DVA)
Pirenze *et. al.* (2001)	60 criminal justice personnel Random selection of 616 of court files at 3 courts	Interviews with personnel and record review	To monitor of the new DVA
CIAC (2000)	Rape cases reported to police in 1998	Record review	To describe the number of rape cases reported to police
Statistics SA (2000)	National representative sample of 4000 individuals (men and women) aged >16 years	Questionnaire survey	To describe crime in South Africa
Bollen *et. al.* (1999)	269 women selected randomly from helping agencies (⅔ victims of domestic violence and ⅓ victims of non-domestic violence)	Questionnaire survey	To document the violence women experience and problems associated with accessing services
Masimanyane (1999)	Service providers Court records	Records survey and interviews with criminal justice personnel	To explore the role of the criminal justice system in the delivery of service for victims of gender violence
Vetten (1998)	800 cases of rape recorded at the surveillance clinic in Johannesburg	Record review	To explore how urban design and maintenance may impact on rape
Leon and Thomas (1998)	Random sample of 73 female psychiatric in-patients over period of 5 months	Questionnaire survey	To describe prevalence of physical abuse and its relationship with psychiatric consequences
Camerer *et. al.* (1998)	3839 individuals (men and women) living in Cape Town	Questionnaire survey	To determine the nature and extent of crime in Cape Town
Vetten (1995)	Inquest reports and newspaper reports of female homicide in Johannesburg for 1994	Record review and qualitative case studies	To describe the prevalence of femicide
Rispel (1995)	Random sample of 142 women hawkers in Johannesburg	Questionnaire survey	To describe the prevalence of physical violence
Stanton (1993)	Total of 897 case records of clients from Rape Crisis Cape Town over 3-year period (1989-1991) 388 women reporting rape and 24 reporting attempted rape	Record review	To describe women's experiences of violence
Equal Opportunities Research Project (1991)	200 1st year male and female students living in university residence) (convenience sample)	Questionnaire survey	To describe sexual harassment among university students

Author/s (year)	Sample size and population	Study Design	Aim/s of Study
Qualitative studies			
Jama and Jewkes (2002)	5 females and 5 males Stepping Stones workshop participants aged 12- 29 years	Interviews	To explore how Stepping Stones influenced sexual ideas and practices in sexual relationships
Wood and Jewkes (2001)	Young Xhosa speaking men	Ethnographic	To explore the connection between violence, masculinity and sexual behaviour
Campbell (2001)	42 Zulu-Xhosa speaking mineworkers	Interviews	To explore the perceptions and experiences of health, sexuality and HIV/AIDS
Suffla *et. al.* 2001	26 medico-legal centres	Interviews	To evaluate medio-legal services in Gauteng
Francis (2000)	15 rape victims reporting to police at police stations in Cape Town	Interviews	To explore women's experiences of the criminal justice system
Artz (1999)	168 rural women from 15 communities in Southern Cape	Focus group discussions	To explore women's experiences in relation to access to justice
Keikelame and Ferreira (2000)	33 women and men aged between 53- 82 years	Focus group discussions	To explore experiences of elder abuse
Wood *et. al.* (1998)	24 pregnant Xhosa teenagers attending a maternity clinic in Cape Town	In depth interviews	To explore violence within sexual relationships among teenagers
Stanton *et. al.* (1997)	13 women who reported their rape to police and whose cases have been finalsised	Interviews	Evaluation of secondary victimisation of women by criminal justice system
Leclerc-Madlala (1997)	100 Zulu-speaking youth aged 18 - 25 years	Focus groups and interviews	Explore the youth response to HIV/AIDS
Waldman (1996)	Farmworkers on 2 farms in the Western Cape	Ethnographic	To explore male and female sexuality and women's responses to abuse
de Waal (1996)	360 people (65 households)	Interviews and observation methods	To explore rural women's experiences of violence and their access to services
Blumberg *et. al.* (1996)	Health care workers	Interviews	To identify barriers for intervention based on accounts of abuse from community health workers
Ross (1996)	325 residents (men and women) of a shanty settlement	Ethnographic	To explore how women and children respond to male violence
Rasool (1995)	15 GPs in Lenasia	Interviews	To explore the GPs perceptions of the abused women they treat
Maconachie *et. al.* (1993)	21 women who had previously stayed at a shelter	Interviews	To explore women's experiences of the process of separating from perpetrators

Author/s (year)	Sample size and population	Study Design	Aim/s of Study
Vogelman (1990)	9 rapists (men)	Interviews	To explore and describe the behaviour of the rapists
Van Zyl and Scärf (1989)	165 women who used a shelter	Interviews	To explore women's experiences of violence and their use of services
Lawrence (1984)	45 women attending community-based social services in Mitchell Plain	Interviews	To explore women's experiences of violence

2.2.3 Sexual violence: An overview

Although studies on rape have been conducted for more than 20 years in the US, sexual violence as a broader experience has not received the same amount of attention as physical abuse. The lack of sexual violence prevalence studies reported in the *Population Report* is evidence of this (Heise *et. al.* 1999). One of the main reasons for the lack of empirical studies is the sensitive nature of the topic and because most sexual coercion occurs among people who know each other. Furthermore, researchers have to deal with two complex methodological issues before embarking on sexual violence research (similar to physical violence research). The first relates to the need to contextualise the cultural differences between the different understandings of sexual violence between groups, which will influence definitions. Secondly they have to deal with under-reporting during collection of data.

The theme of the most recent meeting of the International Research Network on Violence Against Women (IRNVAW) was 'Studying sexual violence: Methodological and theoretical concerns'; this created a forum for international sexual violence researchers to share their experiences (IRNVAW Proceedings 2001). Problems focused around measurement and were intertwined with struggles to unpack meanings and the subsequent development of adequate definitions. A presenter highlighted the complexity of defining sexual violence by saying "One of the difficulties is ascertaining when does sexual behaviour cross the line from simple unenjoyable sex to unwanted sex to sexual abuse" (p. 13). The problem of definitions is further influenced by cultural variations in meanings, and a presenter reporting on an ethnographic study outlined how youth defined forced sex in comparison to rape, reporting that "virtually all the participating youth in this study have experienced " (p. 25) some form of sexual coercion.

Meanings have not always been considered in earlier US prevalence studies, most have been undertaken among college students reporting on lifetime prevalence of 'rape' (penile-vaginal penetration). In a review of the methodology of such US studies, Koss (1993) reported that the magnitudes of the estimates were influenced by methodological factors, with the studies reporting the lowest estimates (8-14%) not being able to effectively improve reporting (definitions used, screening and gate questions used, confidentiality and developing rapport), while those which reported above 20% had samples which may have influenced recall (e.g., younger women vs. older women). She concludes that although she considers the lifetime prevalence of 14% as being conservative, she also finds that it represents the 'middle ground' since it had the advantage of being a national sample and "state-of-the-art" (p. 217) questioning. Another source of data is police statistics; in 1990 rape accounted for 6% of all crime in the US with a total 102 555 cases, a rate of 80 rapes per 100 000 females (Koss 1992).

Despite the above difficulties, findings on the prevalence of forced first sexual intercourse from nine mostly developing countries were presented in the *Population Report* (Heise *et. al.* 1999) (see Table 2.4). The overall findings provide useful information on the extent of coercion in young girls' initial sexual experiences, but once again require careful interpretation because of different samples used (i.e., convenience sample vs. national vs. scholars vs. sexually active girls only, etc.). As expected, huge variations were found between countries with the highest prevalence reported from a case-control study investigating risk factors for teenage pregnancy in a Cape Town township, South Africa (Vundule *et. al.* 2001). In this study nearly a third (31.9%) of the pregnant teenagers and nearly 18.1% of the non-pregnant teenagers reported having experienced forced sex or rape as their initial sexual intercourse. This study also found that in general 1 in 10 of the respondents (cases and controls) had experienced 'rape'.

Of the two studies in males only the Indian study reported on the prevalence of sexual violence. In 5 districts (see table 2.1 for districts) between of 18 - 40% of the men reported non-consensual sex with their wives (if he had sexual activities with his wife when she was unwilling), while between 4 - 9% reported physically forced sex (physically forcing a non-consenting wife) (Martin *et. al.* 1999a).

Table 2.4: Prevalence of first forced sex: Selected studies (1989 - 1999)

Country and year	Sample			% whose first intercourse was forced
	Size	Type	Age	
Argentina (1998)	201	Clinic-Based	15-18	6 (41[a])
Central African Republic (1989)	1307	National	15-50	21
Jamaica (1997)	51 [b]	School-based	8th grade	12
Kenya (1994)	9997	School-based	12-24	8 'forced' 6 'tricked'
Mozambique (1993)	189	School-based	12-23	8
New Zealand (1993-94)	458	National, longitudinal	18 and 21	7 (25[c])
Sierra Leone (1998P)	144	Convenience	Adult	31
United States (1992)	1663	National	18-59	4 (25[a])
South Africa				
Jewkes *et. al.* (2001b)	544[b]	Matched case-control	<19	32 pregnant 18 non-pregnant
Buga *et. al.* (1996P)	1072	School-based	7-9 grade	28

Adapted from Heise *et. al.* (1999)

'P' after year indicates year of publication of studies not reporting the field work dates

[a]Unwanted sex. [b]Sexually active girls

[c]Of those sexually active before age 14.

2.2.4 Sexual violence: South African overview

In the 1995 Report of the Human Rights Watch, South Africa was dubbed the "rape capital" of the world (Human Rights Watch 1995). Two years later a second report highlighted the shortcomings of the medico legal system (Human Rights Watch 1997) and three years later a third report once again featured rape and sexual harassment - as the main reasons for girls abandoning school (Human Rights Watch 2001). Since the 1995 report an ensuing debate on the use of rape statistics and disagreement about the magnitude of the problem has continued between Government, media and service organisations.

A considerable amount of research on sexual violence has been conducted in South Africa. In order to make sense of the size of the problem, a report was written to draw together and synthesise the findings of all such work conducted in the country (Jewkes and Abrahams forthcoming). The following draws mainly from this paper.

Substantial differences in the number of cases reported to police compared to those reported in surveys were found. While police statistics indicated that 240 incidents of rape and attempts to rape per 100 000 women each year were reported, the representative community-based study found 2070 such incidents per 100 000 women per year in the 17-48 year age group - a ninefold

difference. Such comparisons have not been found in the international literature.

The paper by Jewkes and Abrahams (forthcoming) provides more detail on life-time prevalence from the two representative studies which showed that in the national study (SADHS) 7% of the women reported having been 'forced or persuaded to have sex against their will'. The Three Province study showed similar figures (Mpumalanga 7.2%, Eastern Cape 6.7%, and Northern Province 6.3%). The one year prevalence based on the data from the Three Province study (2.07% overall) suggests that one completed rape occurs every 5 minutes for women aged 18 - 49 in South Africa. The study of ante-natal attenders reported that 1 in 5 of the women reported lifetime prevalence of sexual violence by an intimate partner while 9.7% reported this happening within the past year (Dunkle *et. al.* 2002).

Police statistics from 1996 showed that 240 per 100 000 women reported a rape to the police in South Africa (CIAC 2000). This is three times what is reported in the USA (80/100 000) (Ramin *et. al.* 1992). Compared to crime ratios from 89 Interpol member states, South Africa has the highest ratio of reported rape cases per 100 000 population (Bollen *et. al.* 1999). However, the huge difference in the number of cases reported to the police and the number reported in studies examined by Jewkes and Abrahams (forthcoming) are evidence that most cases of rape as well as of all the other forms of sexual violence do not get reported.

Findings from both qualitative and quantitative studies support the occurrence of under-reporting of abuse. The Three Province study found that only between a quarter and a third of the women who reported a rape had also reported it to the police (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a), while the National Victims of Crime Survey found that only half of the women reported their cases to the police (Statistics South Africa 2000). Qualitative studies have shown that women sexually assaulted by an intimate partner did not feel 'less raped' but because of rape stereotypes they often only reporting an incident if the perpetrator is a stranger (Wood and Jewkes 2001); gangs and violence are involved (Wood *et. al.* 1998); or if it happens in public and if a weapon has been used (Stanton 1993). Other forms of sexual coercion such as sexual harassment, non-consensual sex in marriage and dating relationships, forced sexual initiation and being tricked into sex are most likely not reported to police.

Studies on adolescents have provided important data on sexual coercion. Buga (1996) reported that 28% of Transkei scholars studied reported forced sexual initiation and Jewkes *et. al.* (2001b) reported similar findings (presented earlier, see page 24). Richter (1996) in her random sample of 864 boys and girls of 20 years and under at three sites in South Africa found that 17% of the males reported having forced a woman and 28% of the girls reported having been forced to have sex. Forced sex also arose as a topic during focus group discussions of young women (NPPHCN 1996).

Qualitative research among pregnant teenagers showed that sexual coercion takes many forms, which may not involve physical force but tactics such as verbal persuasion, pleading and being tricked into situations which may result in unwanted sexual intercourse. Sexual refusal by a girlfriend was also seen by both boys and girls as a legitimate basis for forced sex (Wood *et. al.* 1998). A community survey in Johannesburg reported that 1 in 5 of the men interviewed said they believed women meant "yes" if they said "no" to sex (CIET International 1998).

Another aspect of sexual aggression in South Africa is gang rape. A rape surveillance study in Johannesburg reported that more than one-third of the women reported being raped by more than one perpetrator (Swart *et. al.* 1999). It has been suggested that gang rape is on the increase since initiation rituals into gangs require prospective members to participate in the rape of women to ensure membership or to pledge allegiance (Pinnock 1997). Another aspect of gang rape is 'jackrolling' which is the forceful abduction and possible sexual assault of women which appeared during the early 1990s. Being a jackroller was considered as demonstrating 'toughness', and young gangs of men would target women whom they perceived as out of their reach as a result of their social class or attitudes towards gangsters (Mokwena 1991). "Stream-lining" is another practice in which trickery tactics are used to deceive girls. It is different from gang rape because girls usually know the perpetrators. A young man may 'arrange' for a number of his friends to have sex with his girlfriend and it is usually done when he intends to end the relationship or when he wants to teach her a lesson when she has transgressed rules. This same practice is also used when a group of male friends takes advantage of girls - usually vulnerable girls such as 'shebeen girls' who are drunk or girls who are asleep (Wood 2001).

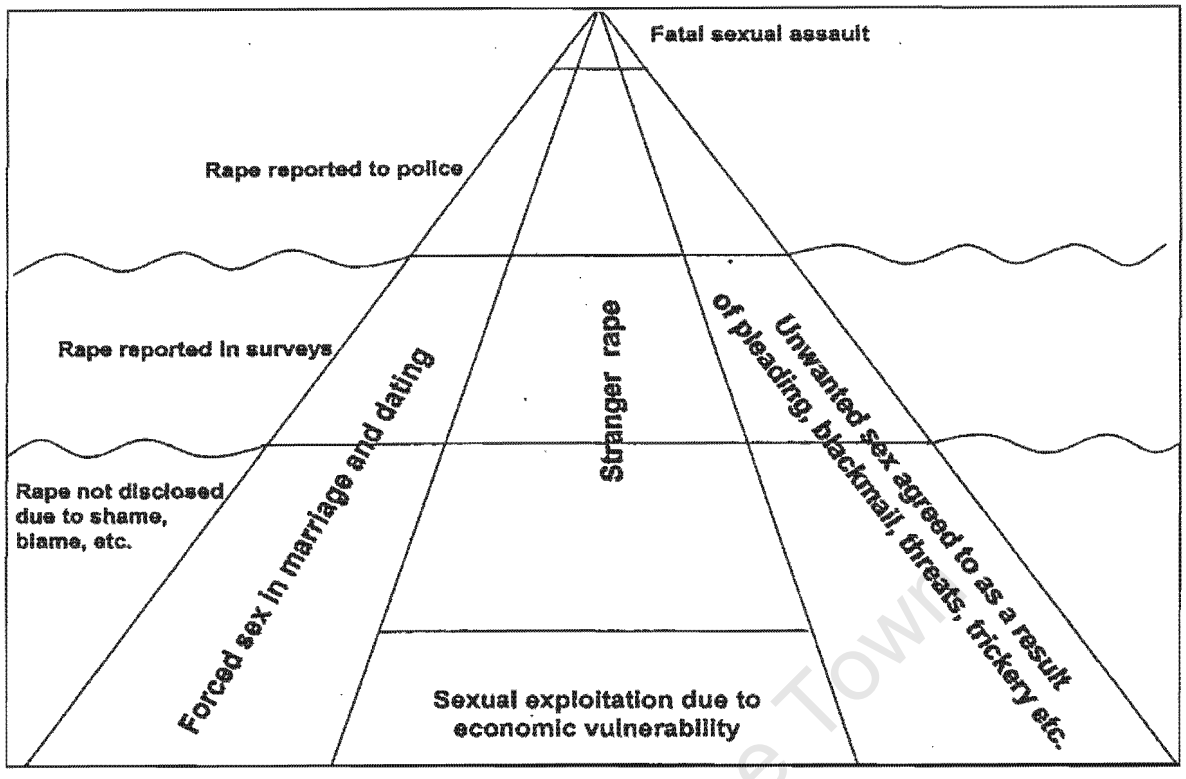

Figure 2.1: The iceberg of sexual coercion (Jewkes and Abrahams forthcoming)

Much research has documented women's experiences of secondary victimisation at the hands of police and justice personnel, which resulted in their reluctance to report their cases (Stanton 1993, Artz 1999, Masimanyane Women's Support Centre 1999, CIET/Africa 1998, Stanton *et. al.* 1997, Statistics South Africa 2000). Other than women not reporting cases to the police, further 'gate-keeping' by staff at all the levels of the Criminal Justice System has also been reported (CIET/Africa 2000). The authors of the review on rape in South Africa developed a model to explain the reporting of sexual violence using the concept of a continuum of sexual coercion. They suggested that rape reported to the police presented the tip of an "iceberg of sexual coercion" with most forms except for rape homicides, and rape by strangers (and some others - only 50% of police reports are by strangers) are not being reported at all (Jewkes and Abrahams forthcoming). This iceberg is shown in Figure 2.1.

Table 2.3 summarises South African studies on sexual violence as well. A substantial amount of research among young men and women exploring reproductive health and relationship issues has contributed to the understanding of violence in these relationships (Wood and Jewkes 2001, Varga

and Makubalo 1996, Richter 1996, Wood *et. al.* 1998, Jewkes *et. al.* 2001b, Dunkle *et. al.* 2002, Nduna *et. al.* 2002). Another area which has received a lot of attention is the exploration of women's experiences of violence and their experiences with the criminal justice system (Stanton *et. al.* 1997, Francis 2000, Artz 1999, CIET/Africa 1998, Stanton 1993, Masimanyane 1999, Pirenze *et. al.* 2001, Mathews and Abrahams 2001, Suffla *et. al.* 2001). These reports have contributed substantially to the development of policies to improve services for victims of abuse in South Africa, including development of the New Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998) and the current revision of the Sexual Offences Act.

The broad epidemiology of rape has also been described by a surveillance project at three medico-legal clinics in Johannesburg (Swart *et. al.* 1999). The study reported on 1401 cases of rape and although limitations included a bias in the collection of the data with the majority of cases reported from only one of the three clinics (n=1008), it does highlight important factors for prevention programmes. Some of the findings were: young women were at greater risk of being raped, most rapes were intra-racial (most women raped by men from their own race group); and most rapes happened over weekends while open spaces and homes were the most likely places for the rape to occur.

The only study in South Africa to describe the epidemiology of fatal sexual assaults was done by Martin (1999) in a series of cases in Cape Town. She found a 1.2% fatal sexual assault rate which relates to 1.2 fatalities per 100 cases of rape reported to police. This rate was 12 times higher than that reported in the USA (Marchbanks *et. al.* 1990).

A study of male rapists was one of the first studies in South Africa to highlight the problem of violence against women. In this qualitative study 27 'coloured' men were divided into three groups: rapists, physically violent men and non-violent men, and the research focused on the social context, feeling and motivation to rape. Although the study findings cannot be generalised, they did suggest that rape reflected the masculine social and sexual roles of power, dominance and control in sexual relationships (Vogelman 1990). More recent research on sexual relationships among youth (Varga and Makubalu 1996, Matshidze *et. al.* 1999, Buga *et. al.* 1996), pregnant women (Dunkle *et. al.* 2002) and with migrant workers (Campbell 2001) has emerged as a response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Understanding the socio-cultural dynamics of men's use of violence in South Africa has increased within the past 5 years, with the focus on the dynamics of sexual behaviour on sexual coercion. The most substantive contribution comes from Wood and Jewkes (2001) reporting on ethnographic studies of the male Xhosa youth and shedding light on the complex nature of the young men's violent behaviour within sexual relationships. They describe how the young men's notions of successful masculinities were partly formed by their sexual relationship with girls, and how the control of the girlfriends was an important aspect of this. Violence against partners is also widely accepted among community members. A male reproductive health study found that more than 50% of the men did not believe in the concept of rape within marriage, and a third said it was acceptable for a man to have sex when a wife is unwilling (Matshidze *et. al.* 1999).

2.2.5 Prevalence of emotional and economic abuse: An overview

Over the years many qualitative studies have described the many forms of emotional abuse that women experience and their responses to it. Researchers have found that the pattern of abuse is complex and that most women who experience physical and sexual abuse also report emotional abuse. Attempts to separate emotional abuse from the other two types are viewed by many as impractical (Dobash and Dobash 1992).

As with sexual violence, the measurement of emotional abuse is hampered by methodological factors. For emotional abuse it is as much the need to overcome under-reporting, but also dealing with the huge variety of different definitions depicting different behaviours and experiences, and tools used by the researchers to measure emotional abuse. These all influence the ability to compare prevalences. It is not within the scope of this review to explore the differences and limitations of various definitions and measurement tools used to measure emotional abuse.

In the literature only a few representative studies reported the prevalence of emotional abuse. In a Nicaraguan study 71.4% of the 'ever married' women reported this form of abuse (Ellsberg *et. al.* 2000), while in an Indian multi-site household survey more than 43% of the women reported a lifetime prevalence of at least one of the 7 behaviours used in the measurement of emotional abuse. The behaviours included were: being insulted, demeaned, threatened, threatening someone else, made to feel afraid, abandoned and being unfaithful (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000). The WHO multi-country study on violence against women has included questions on emotional abuse. Some of

the country data will be released soon (Heise 2001).

The two studies in males did not report on emotional tactics used by the men. The closest measurement of emotional abuse was the study of engaged Palestinian men, in which the Conflict Tactic Scale was used to measure verbal aggression. The prevalence of the individual tactics showed that 15 % reported having insulted, sworn at or yelled at a fiancée; 20.6% did or said something to hurt her feelings and 27% stomped out of the room or the house (Haj-Yahia and Edelson 1994).

No prevalence studies of financial abuse were found in the international literature except for a study of women of Japanese descent living in Los Angeles. The study had a poor response rate (52%), which poses limitations on the use of the study findings. However, 20.4% of the women reported that the partner did not contribute to household expenses (Yoshihama 1999).

2.2.6 Emotional and financial abuse in South Africa

The South African national representative study only asked about financial abuse and did not ask questions on emotional abuse (Department of Health 2002). The findings from the Three Province study combined financial and emotional abuse and presented one year prevalence rate for women who reported having partners. Findings showed that one in every two women reported having experienced emotional abuse within the last year - a similar figure (50.8%) was reported by the recent study of women attending ante-natal clinics in Soweto (Dunkle *et. al.* 2002). This is similar to the Indian (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000) as well as South African studies of women attending a primary health care facility (Jacobs and Suleman 1999) and women attending general practitioners (Marias *et. al.* 1999) (although only emotional abuse was reported in the latter).

In the Three Province study individual behaviours were asked about - and depicted the men's jealousy, control and deliberate humiliation of the women. In general the one year prevalence estimates varied with 5.0 - 10.4% reporting having partners who boasted about other girlfriends, 4.5 - 9.4% were prevented from seeing family and friends, 3.7 - 8.1 % were prevented from working, 12.3 - 17.2% were prevented from speaking to other men, and 3.6 - 9.0% reported being evicted from their home by a male partner within the last year (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a).

Economic abuse in both of the two South African representative studies and the study of ante-natal attenders in Soweto was asked about in relation to the male partner not having provided money for food and household necessities while having money to spend on alcohol and for his own entertainment. In the national study 20% of the women reported having experienced this within the last year (Department of Health 2002), while in the Three Province study the prevalence 10 - 15% (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a) and the pregnant women reported a past year prevalence of 11% (Dunkle *et. al.* 2002).

2.3 Understanding men's use of violence against women

Many theories abound to explain men's use of violence against women, and no one has been able to explain this complex phenomenon completely. A few general approaches can be distinguished. *Individual approach* includes social learning, biological and psychological models which emphasize the characteristics and traits of the individual abuser. *Sociological* and *empowerment (feminist) approaches* highlight the sanctioning of the use of violence against women through societal reinforcement of gender inequality which favours male dominance and acceptance of male aggression against women. *Interpersonal approaches* highlight the social and relational context in which the violence occurs. A limitation has been that most of the theories remained discipline-specific; more recently it has been accepted that violence against women is a complex problem that juxtaposes across all the various disciplines that have attempted to explain it. Yllö (1997) writes *"the diversity of approaches has resulted in a knowledge that looks very much like a jigsaw puzzle. Some parts of the picture seem clear, some are obscured, some do not fit together, some seem that they will never fit and some are totally missing"* (p. 23). This is confirmed by Counts, Brown and Campbell (1992) and Levinson (1989) in their cross-cultural studies, in which no single theory could be found to explain all the violence in the societies studied.

Until recently an over reliance on North American theories to explain the violence in all societies has also proved to be restrictive. The book *What causes men's violence against women* by Harvay and O'Neil (1999), although useful, explores the issue from work done exclusively in the USA. Post-modern anthropologists have argued that gender violence is a complex social phenomenon that is 'under-theorized' and requires the integration of *"sociological and psychological theories of interpersonal violence with theories about meaning, representation and symbolism."* (Moore 1994: p.138).

This review will not explore in detail all the theories proposed around causes of men's use of violence but focus on the integrated ecological model proposed by Heise (1998) which considers, where relevant, all the previous theories explaining the risk for men to use violence as well as women's risk for being abused. Over the last 5 years debates on the causation have increasingly used an 'ecological' framework to explain men's use of violence against women. In developing the framework, Heise (1998) drew mainly from research in the US. More recently, *Jewkes (2002)*

Jewkes (2002) added to the understanding of the causation by collating the findings from a number of well-designed studies which have emerged from developing countries over the past 10 years.

2.3.1 Integrated ecological theory to explain men's use of violence

Although an integrated framework for explaining men's use of violence was suggested 5 years ago (O'Neil and Harvay 1997, Heise 1998), it has not been widely applied by researchers and advocates of gender-based violence. This is mainly due to the continuous tension between various supporters of each set of theories with each clinging to and promoting their own exclusive approaches rather than acknowledging the complexities associated with this form of violence. In contrast, the integrated ecological model developed by Heise (1998) acknowledges the array of the relevant factors associated with gender violence and their interactive complexities. (Figure 2.2.).

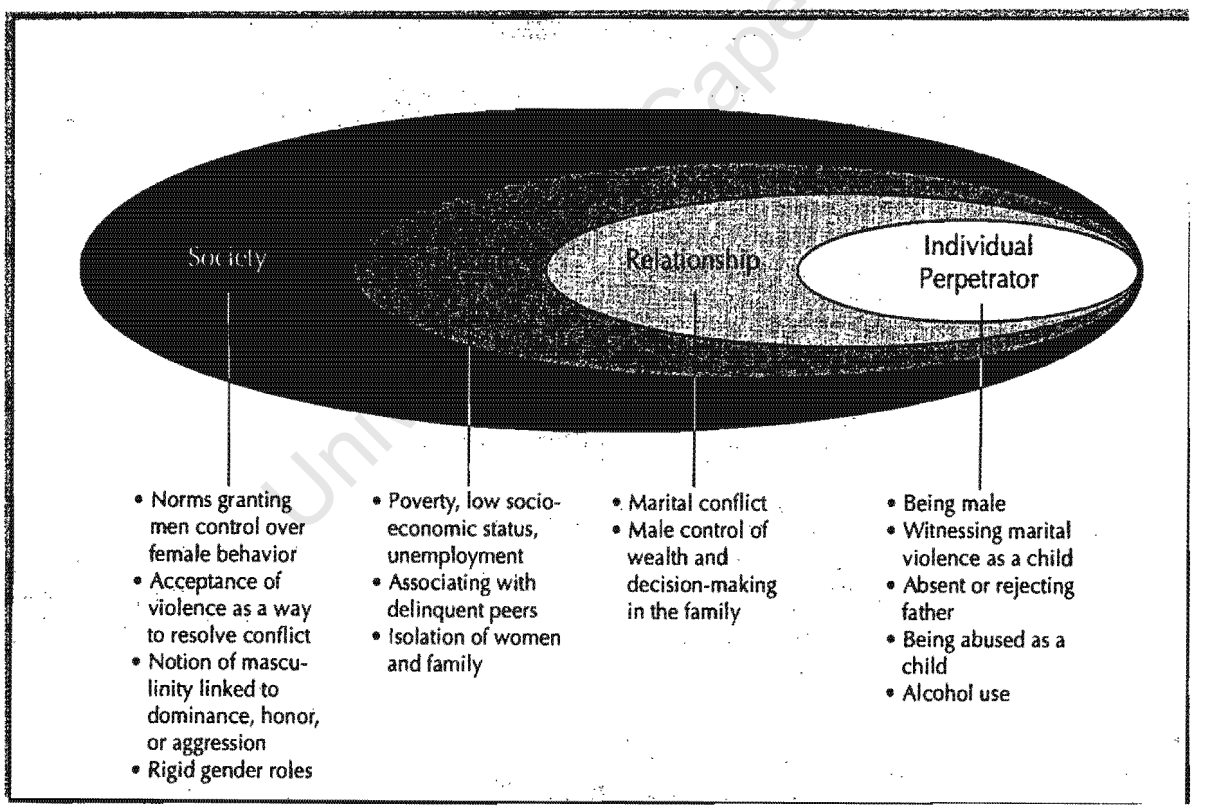

Figure 2.2: Integrated ecological model to explain men's use of violence (Heise 1998)

In the development of the model, relevant research findings were reviewed from across different disciplines, and these were integrated into a rational concept to understand men's use of violence. Only factors from empirically sound research found to be related to men's use of violence were

included in the explanatory model. The model has four embedded concentric circles representing personal, relational, community and societal factors, with the individual layer being embedded in all the other layers and the outer social layer enfolding all four. The literature presented here will use this framework as a guide for exploring risk factors for men's use of violence against women, although all the factors identified may not fit into what was initially presented by Heise (1998).

2.3.1.1 Intrapersonal level

Included at the intrapersonal level are childhood experiences which shape the development of personality and consequently the use of violence as an adult. Risk factors here include witnessing one's mother being abused as a child, being a victim of child abuse, and having an absent father during childhood. Risk factors such as age, alcohol use and stress have been added as factors which operate at this individual level.

2.3.1.1.1 Witnessing mother's abuse as a child

In a meta-analysis of 52 studies, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) evaluated potential risk factors for abuse and found that the strongest risk factor for becoming a perpetrator was having witnessed a mother's abuse as a child. Regression analysis of findings from the Nicaraguan study (Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999a) support these earlier findings. A family history of the husband (perpetrator) having a mother that was abused was found to be associated with his use of violence against his wife. Witnessing abuse has also been found to be associated with the use of violence in general. Gelles (1979) found that children raised in violent homes were more likely to use violence later, and men who beat their wives were also more likely to hit their children (Straus and Gelles 1989). The above was not explored in the two studies in males (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994, Martin *et. al.* 1999a). The studies among women in India (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000) and the South African Three Province study (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming) examined only the women's risks.

These consistent findings suggest that boys learn that violence is part of intimate relations, and is the appropriate manner to resolve conflicts. Further investigations are required to understand the conditions under which such behaviour gets transferred because not all young boys who witness this violence become abusers. It is more likely that such behaviour would be promoted by the social environment of male domination of women and the absence of community sanctions against abusing partners.

2.3.1.1.2 Abused as a child

The review of studies by Hotaling and Sugarman (1986), the study among Arab Palestinian men (Haj-Yahia and Edelson 1994) and studies on child abuse (Rosenbaum and O'Leary 1981) all found a significant association between having been abused as a child and the future risk of abusing a partner. Research has also found sexual abuse during childhood to be associated with sexual aggression as an adult (Heise 1998). In addition, the experience of violent forms of punishment from parents has discriminated abusers from non-abusers in many studies (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986). Malamuth's (1998) analysis through the use of evolutionary psychology and data collected over time is very useful in explaining the influences of these traumatic childhood experiences. He used this to develop a model to explain the characteristics of sexually coercive men, and suggested that a harsh childhood environment (conflict between parents and/or rejecting, violent or abusive parenting) is an important factor resulting in three characteristics which together lead to sexual aggression as an adult. These three characteristics are adopting short-term sexual strategies (sexual promiscuity and impersonal sex), having a dominant personality (competitive, aggressive and self-centered) as opposed to a nurturing one (sensitive, compassionate) and having a hostile masculinity (anger towards women). This is in keeping with the research of Dutton (1995), which suggests that these early traumatic experiences influence development of personality problems such as an inability to regulate emotions and dependency on primary personal relationships. It is hypothesised that these personality problems interact with factors within the other three levels, which leads to increased risk for the use of violence in adulthood (Heise 1998).

2.3.1.1.3 Absent or rejecting fathers

Heise (1998) reported on studies which suggested that growing up without a father or a male figure increased the risk for being an abuser later. An absent (or rejecting father as explained by Malamuth's (1998) research above) may lead to boys being raised by peers, which may result in aggressive and competitive relationships. In studies of perpetrators, a rejecting father during childhood was associated with later use of violence. In cross-cultural research, evidence of an absent father during childhood was shown to lead to problems in the development of male identity - considered an important aspect for developing self-esteem (Levinson 1989).

2.3.1.1.4 Alcohol and drug use

Research has shown that the uses of alcohol and drugs (to a lesser degree), are important factors associated with the use of violence (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986, Heise 1998, Wood and Jewkes 2001). Representative studies of women showed that those reporting abuses were more likely to report their male partners' use of alcohol and its consequent problems in the relationship (Ellsberg *et. al.* 2000, Ahuja *et. al.* 2000, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). Findings from the these three studies in women differ, with the Indian study showing the husbands' alcohol use remaining a significant risk factor for reporting abuse.

However the South African study found that the women's *own* alcohol drinking was one of the strongest risk factors for reporting abuse (odds ratio for lifetime prevalence = 2.55). Instead, conflict over the male partners alcohol use was associated with the violence and not his drinking in itself. This suggests that alcohol drinking in some settings is not an entirely male activity and that women's use of alcohol may act as a catalyst for conflict between partners. This is further supported by findings from the male study. The researchers reported that the Thai men's use of alcohol was not directly associated with the abuse of wives, but it appeared to deteriorate the relationship between the men and their wives (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994). Further evidence is reported by Levinson (1989) in his cross-cultural studies; he found that alcohol only played a role in wife beating in 7 of the 90 societies studied. In these few societies alcohol seemed to play a role as a component in the sequence of events leading up to the violence.

Research indicates that being drunk during the acts of abuse may provide an excuse to explain or justify the violence Heise (1998). Men then use their alcohol drinking as an excuse for the violent incident and are less accountable for the violence since it is tolerated and forgiven by the partner, community and even the judicial system.

2.3.1.1.5 Self esteem

Low self-esteem was identified by Pagelow (1984) as one of 11 common features found among men who abuse women. Their low self-esteem is associated with emotional dependency, which is demonstrated through their jealous behaviour and fears that their partners will leave them (Walker 1983). Research on abusers also suggests that they are less assertive towards partners compared with non-abusive men (Rosenbaum and O'Leary 1981), and they have poor problem-

solving skills (Barnett *et. al.* 1997) which could further influence their levels of self-esteem and conflict with a partner. Low self-esteem has also been associated with abusers' inability to deal with frustrations and insecurities which arise from outside the home, such as work pressures or socio-economic stress. This is transformed into the abuse of somebody over whom they have power and control (Pence and Paymar 1993).

2.3.1.1.6 Age

Age was not explored as a risk factor in the Thai study (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994), but in the male Indian study an increased risk for reporting abuse was found for men who were younger when they first lived with wives (Martin *et. al.* 1999a).

2.3.1.2 Relationship level

This level refers to the factors which arise from direct interactions with others of whom family members are the most important. Risk factors identified by Heise (1998) include male dominance and control of family and wealth and marital conflict.

2.3.1.2.1 Male dominance and control in family

The role of gender inequality in the promotion of gender violence has been reported consistently with associations reported between the status of women in society and the rates of intimate partner violence (Levinson 1989, Yllö 1993, Straus and Gelles 1990, Hotaling and Sugarman 1986). This is corroborated by cross-cultural studies which found male dominance in societies to be a strong predictor of wife beating (Levinson 1989). This is further supported by studies of abusers and non-abusers which found that abusers had misogynist attitudes and were more tolerant of using violence as a means to resolve conflict compared to non-abusers (Barnett *et. al.* 1997), and by studies of young men which found that similar beliefs of manhood (use of violence against women is acceptable or it is expected of men to have many sexual partners), are strongly associated with risk taking behaviour including violence (Barker 2000).

Epidemiological studies showed that control of a partner's activities are associated with reporting abuse, with both Ellsberg *et. al.* (2000) and Visaria (1999) finding an increase in abuse among women who reported such control of their daily activities. In the Indian study these activities included: not performing household duties, food not cooked adequately or not properly caring for

the children (Visaria 1999) while in Nicaragua it included visiting of friends and use of family planning (Ellsberg *et. al.* 2000). In the study of Arab-Palestinians it was found that those men who used reasoning tactics (discussed the problem calmly) during conflict with fiancees were more likely to have egalitarian expectations about the marriage (Haj-Yahia and Edelson 1994).

Qualitative studies among young men in South Africa reported men using physical beatings to *" Enforce discipline and control over the female partners when they perceived them to have broken certain 'rules' underlying the relationship"* (Wood and Jewkes 2001: p. 319). This behaviour by men is mediated by macro level factors such as community and society norms which approve or disapprove such male dominance and control (Heise 1998, Jewkes 2002a). Counts *et. al.* (1992) found a decrease in wife beating was reported in societies which provided sanctuary for women. Further, Levinson (1989) reported that regular and frequent interference by neighbours and kin in family squabbles decreases abuse in societies.

In addition, one of the strongest predictors of wife beating found by Levinson (1989) was the control of the family wealth by the male partner. Some research reported that women's financial independence is protective. It has been found that women who are involved in micro-credit programs receive protection from the violence through their involvement in the broader social networks provided by such programs (Roa 1997, Schuler *et. al.* 1996). It is evident that the relationship between gender violence and resources are complex (Jewkes Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). In the South African study women who were relatively poor and who received financial assistance from outside the home were less likely to report abuse. This is explained by the finding that they were also less likely to have conflict due to financial problems. This is similar to the findings of the Thai study among males, in which the dynamic relationship between poverty and abuse of wives is explained by the greater amount of conflict in poor households occurring due to clashes over (lack of) resources (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994).

Strong associations have also been found between reporting abuse and men whose educational and occupational attainments are less than their partners. The abuser may feel threatened by the wife's status relative to his (Yllö and Bograde 1988). Social science and ethnographic researchers have suggested that in the context of poverty a climate is created in which men become vulnerable since they are unable to live up to the expectations of successful manhood, which in turns lead to a crisis

in male identity. The use of violence against women is a way to assert and compensate for their perceived loss of masculinity (Moore 1994, Wood and Jewkes 2001).

2.3.1.2.2 Stress and marital conflict

Poverty has also been suggested to contribute to violence through a mediating role (Gelles 1974, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). The explanation is that men with low socio-economic standards as a result of no or low job status and inadequate education may be unable to meet the expected family obligations, resulting in 'stress'. Since they have few resources to alleviate this tension, they may resort to abusing their partner. Straus *et. al.* (1980), however, found a direct association between abuse and men who fall between the poverty line and the highest income group. The researchers suggest that men in the higher income group have resources to protect themselves from stress, while those below the poverty line are overwhelmed by the effects of the poverty that additional stress has no effect on their likelihood to use violence against women. In the Thai study interpersonal stress was measured using two scales (psychological stress and felt demands) together with severity of drinking problems, and was not found to be related to the use of violence when all other factors were controlled (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994). The study showed that like alcohol use, stress appears to weaken the relationship between partners and thus increase the probability of conflict.

Conflict is inevitable in any relationship since there are many opportunities for misunderstandings and disagreements to occur. It is therefore not surprising to find that marital conflict has been found to be a strong predictor of abuse in many studies. The Thai study found a significant positive relationship between abuse and marital instability (whether respondents had considered separation or divorce within last 3 years) as well as verbal conflict. These two factors together with socio-economic status were the three main predictors of abuse in the study (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994). However, 'stress', appears to be the mechanism through which abuse occurred, by precipitating the arguments and the resulting conflict (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986, Hoffman *et. al.* 1994, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). Further evidence is also found in studies among women in which verbal conflict has been positively associated with experiences of violence (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). The main reasons for conflict being over finance, alcohol use, women not performing their expected role and jealousy (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming, Wood and Jewkes 2001).

The above studies have shown the importance of understanding conflict in relation to gender roles in the context of relationships - particularly how conflict is used to achieve and maintain ascendary in the relationships. This aspect of conflict has been neglected in many studies which have used the Conflict Tactic Scale - emphasising the conflict between partners without understanding the role of gender dimensions.

2.3.1.3 Community/societal level

Critical factors here include socio-economic status, isolation of women, association with peers and criminal activities.

2.3.1.3.1 Socio-economic status

Although gender violence occurs across all income and educational levels and ethnic groups, it does not do so evenly. Poverty was identified as strong risk factor in the Thai study (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994) and to a lesser degree in the Indian study (Martin *et. al.* 1999a). Its mediating role through stress created at the relationship level has been discussed above. Poverty as a risk factor has also been found in some studies in women (Ahuja *et. al.* 2000, Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999a, Heise 1998). Unemployment of the abuser has also been associated with an increase risk for abuse (Straus *et. al.* 1980) as are low-income occupations for the men and living in low-income homes (Gelles and Straus 1988, Hotaling and Sugarman 1986). However, 93% of the men participating in the Thai study were employed and an association with unemployment could not be measured (Hoffman *et. al.* 1994). If education is used as a measure of economic status, then the association between lower education and reporting abuse in the male Indian study also supports the relationship between poverty and abuse (Martin *et. al.* 1999a).

Contradictory findings have been reported by a study among women in South Africa (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming) in which extreme poverty was shown to be protective, while risk for abuse was increased when the woman was employed and the partner not. The authors suggested that *"economic inequality within the context of poverty is more important than the absolute level of income (or empowerment) of a man or a woman in a relationship"* (p. 5). It is also suggested that poverty at community levels may play an important role in explaining the differences in prevalence found between communities. Yllö (1988) described a similar curvilinear relationship between gender violence and social class in marital relationships. She found that "

wife battering was high in low status states and declined as the women's status improved...rates of abuse increased in those states in which women's status was highest relative to men's" (p. 31). She explains that this response from the men may indicate that the rapid changes towards equality for women do not have a corresponding change amongst men (men may lag behind) resulting in misunderstanding or un-acceptance of these changes - a possible situation to which South Africa is moving.

In a qualitative study of young men in South Africa poverty was found to interact with their abilities to attain successful masculinity and status among their peers. Poverty rendered the young men vulnerable if they were unable to start or maintain relationships with girlfriends, since the girls in turn sought relationships with wealthier men which would give them status as well. These young men were said to be more likely to use violence to *"get the upper-hand in the relationship"* (Wood and Jewkes 2001: p. 232).

2.3.1.3.2 Isolation of women

Isolation of women is closely linked to factors within the other levels such as male partners' control of women to prevent them leaving the relationship. This operates at the relationship level and within norms related to sanctioning of women's abuse, which operates at the societal level. Most studies have found social isolation of women increases their risk for abuse (Neilsen *et. al.* cited in Hiese 1998, Dobash and Dobash 1979). In cross-cultural research, societies which were less private (frequent interference in couple arguments) had lower levels of violence (Counts *et. al.* 1992).

There are studies which reported contradictory findings. The women's study in South Africa found that abused women were more likely to have someone to speak to about their problems, while the male Indian study found no relationship between the men's use of violence and living in 'private families' (household composition including number of people in household and presence of husbands' or wife's parents) (Martin *et. al.* 1999a).

2.3.1.3.3 Relationship with peers

Peer relationships appear to have most significance in the use of sexual aggression (Barker 2000).

In a study of the characteristics of 2652 male students, Malamuth *et. al.* (1995) used structural equation modeling to show the link between men's involvement in delinquency with peers leading them into two pathways to abuse. One pathway is the subsequent development of hostile personalities, which result in abuse, and the second is towards sexual promiscuity, which together with hostility leads to sexual aggression.

In an ethnographic study of young men in South Africa it was found that attaining respect and prestige from same-gendered peers was through their sexual relationships with women. This resulted in competition between peers, with young men perceiving that they will be viewed as a 'successful man' by their peers if they develop a relationship with certain female partners which others desire to have as well. Control of these relationships occurred through threats or actual abuse - control of the girls' sexual behaviour was of most importance to attain hierarchy in the relationship and thus among peers as well. In addition, rivalry between peer groups could result in these women being targeted *"just for sex"*, to prove the superiority of a group (Wood and Jewkes 2001: p. 322).

2.3.1.3.4 Crime and gangsterism

Few studies outside of the US have examined the association between abuse and crime. Research reported by Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) has shown that abusers were more likely to be involved in criminal activities, but gang activity has not been reported. Studies of adolescent boys indicate a possible connection with the finding that traditional beliefs of 'manhood' that is linked to dominance were the strongest predictor of risk-taking behaviours such as substance abuse and delinquency (Barker 2000). Although quantitative studies have not been done, the South African Police Gang unit estimates that between 10- 80 000 men are current members of 137 gangs on the Cape Flats area (Kinnes 2000).

2.3.1.4 Societal level

This level refers to broader sets of societal and cultural practices and beliefs which directly and indirectly impact on factors operating at the three lower levels. Central to the societal level is inequality between men and women and the norms and practices which maintain and condone male domination. Factors included at this level are masculinities, gender roles and cultural practices.

2.3.1.4.1 Societal norms and cultural practices which grant men power over women

Feminist theorists were the first group to identify the imbalance of power between men and women as the dominant model for explaining violence against women (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Walker 1984). The work by Yllö and Bogard (1988) used different methodologies and samples but reported consistent findings showing a correlation between patriarchal structures and abuse of wives. In addition, findings from cross-cultural research found violence against women common in most societies with strong ideologies of male dominance and control of women (Levinson 1989).

These norms are embedded in the cultural beliefs and practices of societies and communities. Men who believe in these traditionalist views of women are more likely to report violence (Sugarman and Frankel 1996, Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a), with preference for a boy-child by a male partner being used as a measure of conservative practices in the South African study. In the same study researchers asked women about practices which highlight how male dominance and control are acceptable in relations in their culture. More than two-thirds (74%) of the women interviewed said their culture expected a woman to obey a husband, 58% said that it is accepted in their culture that if a wife does something wrong then a husband has the right to punish her, while more than 40% said that their culture accepts that when a husband beats you it is a demonstration of love. However at the individual level their own views did not necessarily correspond with what was seen as acceptable in their culture, and women who had more liberal views were at greater risk for violence.

Jewkes (2002) explains that *"These ideologies usually impact at multiple levels within a society. At a societal level they influence, for example women's autonomy, access to political arenas, influence in the economy, participation in academic life and the arts. They also impact on laws, police and criminal justice systems and influence whether violence against women is criminalised and the seriousness with which complaints from women about abuse are treated by law enforcers"* (p. 7).

2.3.1.4.2 Masculinities linked to dominance, control and male sexual entitlement

The most recent developments in the study of masculinities come from post-modern

anthropologists' work based on anthropology, history and sociology (Moore 1994, Connell 1995, Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994). These recent theories explain the influence of gender relations on the diverse nature of masculinities and therefore also on gender violence. In the introduction to '*Dislocating Masculinity*', Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) argue that masculinity and femininity vary over time and according to context, and culture is acknowledged as an important influence. For example, the notion of 'being a man' is explained as not fixed or universal in all cultures. They further assert that recent anthropological work has shown that cultures often have multiple discourses of gender in which individuals take 'different gendered positions' (which are often conflicting and contradictory) in their daily lives.

Many factors contribute to the construction of South African men's masculinities. The colonial and racial history has been suggested as having had a great impact (Beinhart 1992), while the military have also been suggested as having a major influence on hegemonic (violent) masculinities in all societies (Connell 1995). This is evident in South Africa with the military and the police using brutality to enforce their laws during apartheid. Similarly, the resistance movement legitimised violence as a way to fight the "*system*" (Beinart 1992), which was intertwined in a "*macho culture of resistance*" (Campbell 1992: p. 624).

Other factors suggested by Simpson (1992) include experiences of emasculation (fear of losing masculine identity and power) by South African men as a result of dissatisfaction with work, or as a result of exploitation, racism and authoritarian management. These can cause frustrations and stress which leads to aggression which may not be directed at the original source because the source may be a superior power and risks are involved.

In South African important work on masculinities is emerging with a recent book "*Changing men in South Africa*" edited by Morrell (2001), being the first to document the work of leading researchers specialising in the study of South African men from across different disciplines. The work by Wood and Jewkes (2001) presented in this book has contributed a great deal to the understanding of how masculinities are built and experienced among young Xhosa men, and links to the use of violence against women. Some of the findings were presented earlier (p. 43) when it was shown how power over girlfriends was bound to their male identity. It demonstrated how ideas of masculinities interacted with factors at other levels, such as male dominance at the

personal level and with socio-economic status and peer relations at the community level.

Cross-cultural research has found that violence is more common in societies where dominance and control of women are linked to definition of manhood (Counts *et. al.* 1992). Heise (1998) reports on the use of the term 'hypermasculinity', which has been used to explain men who see violence as manly, who view danger as exciting, and who have coercive attitudes to sex. Men who scored high on this measure were more likely to report rape of women.

Men's sexual behaviour has been linked to their use of violence (Martin *et. al.* 1999b), as has their sense of ownership of women (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Findings depicting the cultural practices presented earlier support this, as do religious practices (Schuler *et. al.* 1996). Young pregnant women in the South African study reported that boyfriends told them that once they agreed to a liaison with them it meant they made a commitment to be available for sex. The girls also reported that ending a relationship would *"provoke violence, as could talking to an unknown man on the street and being late for a rendezvous"* (Wood *et. al.* 1998: p. 238).

2.3.1.4.3 Acceptance of violence as a means to resolve conflict

Related to cultural beliefs and notions of masculinity is the acceptance of violence as a means to resolve conflict. Levinson (1989) has shown that societies in which violence is condoned as an acceptable measure to deal with conflict were more likely to have intimate partner violence. At the individual level, acceptance of interpersonal violence was one of three factors associated with sexual aggression among a large study of male college students (the others were hostility towards women and early childhood exposure to violence) (Koss and Dinero 1989).

In South Africa many examples can be seen in daily experiences where violence has been a feature of state suppression and resistance to it. Interpersonal violence as a common facet of crime (Camerer *et. al.* 1998) and have been reported in varied situations such as among the elderly (Keilelame and Ferreira 2000), and in settings such as health clinics where abuse of patients by health workers has been reported (Jewkes *et. al.* 1998). These links to the cultural acceptance of violence against women are argued by Jewkes (2002) as being allowed to occur within certain boundaries of severity and *"so long as these boundaries are not crossed, the social cost of the physical violence is low"* (p. 1426).

2.3.1.5 The interrelationship between the levels

The above discussion presents risk factors for using violence as they would be depicted in the integrated ecological model. Although Heise (1998) has said that the model may not be complete and factors may be added or moved from one level to another, a further problem is that factors may interact at multiple levels simultaneously. This creates problems in assigning risk factors to a particular level. Factors also interact with each other within the same level, such as the relation between culture and masculinities. Jewkes (2002) further argues that this framework limits the way the different levels can be conceptualised scientifically by its inability to distinguish between levels, such as between community and societal level.

2.4 The public health impact of intimate partner violence

In a review of the health consequences of intimate partner violence Campbell (2002) highlights how women who experience violence by intimate partners are at greater risk for mental and physical health problems than non-victimised women. In addition these women are also more likely to use health services (Resnick *et. al.* 1997, Heise *et. al.* 1994a). In developed countries where maternal mortality and the health burden related to poverty have decreased, the healthy years lost to rape and violence is increasing. *(World Development Report* 1993). Estimating the health burden contributed by violence against women in these countries, the World Bank estimates that one out of every five healthy years of life is lost to women of reproductive age. The health consequences are multiple since many women will experience more than one negative health outcome.

Resnick and colleagues (1997) reviewed existing data on the impact of sexual and physical violence on outcomes of women's acute and chronic health problems. They developed a model which distinguished physical and mental health outcomes (focusing mainly on physical outcomes), and acute and chronic health outcomes, and finally they explored factors which may further affect health following the abuse.

2.4.1 Acute health outcomes

2.4.1.1 Injuries

The physical injuries inflicted most commonly result from body parts such as feet, fists and weapons such as knives, sticks and guns, resulting in a range of severity. Studies from health care settings found that head, neck, facial, breast and abdomen were the most common sites for injuries reported (Stark *et. al.* 1981, Motsei 1993, Jacobs and Suleman 1999), including ocular and orbital injuries (Hartzell *et. al.* 1996). Physical injuries following sexual violence include both non-genital injuries as well as vaginal, anal and perineal tears (Resnick *et. al.* 1997).

2.4.1.2 Infections

Women are at risk for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), with 3-30% of women reporting the development of any of 15 types of STDs after a sexual assault (Resnick *et. al.* 1997). Only one study in Rwanda has shown an independent association between marital rape and HIV-positive

status (Van der Straten *et. al.* 1998), while in the US it was found that the overwhelming majority of women continued to fear HIV infection a month after a rape incident (Resnick *et. al.* 1997).

The association between HIV infection and sexual and physical violence is much more complex than the transmission of the virus, and limited data are available on the true nature of these links. In a review of the literature Maman *et. al.* (2000) hypothesise that there are three ways in which violence increases women's risk for HIV infection: *"(1) through forced or coercive sexual intercourse with an infected partner; (2) by limiting women's ability to negotiate safe sexual behaviours and (3) by establishing a pattern of sexual risk taking among individuals assaulted in childhood and adolescence*" (p. 466). The review found that limitations of studies resulted in inconclusive support for a link between HIV infection and forced sex, while studies on childhood sexual assault suggested that a history of such abuse increases risks for HIV-related risk-taking behaviours later. Conflicting results were found among studies which looked at whether HIV-infected women were at risk for violence. The authors conclude that the understanding of the links between HIV and women's experiences of violence require much more research. This is of particular importance in South Africa where the risk for HIV infection is growing at *"shattering dimensions*", with 19% of adults being infected in 2000 compared to 12.5% in 1998 and the mortality among young women (aged 25-29) *"increasing rapidly"* (Dorrington *et. al.* 2001: p. 1).

2.4.1.3 Femicide

Until recently femicide, the most extreme form of physical violence, has largely been ignored as an area of research outside of the US and Canada. Most of the studies conducted have been in the US using routine police statistics and depict patterns and trends (Mercy and Saltzman 1989). It has become a leading cause of death among young women and approximately a third of women murdered in the US are killed by a current or a former intimate partner (Frye and Wilt 2001). Women are at most risk of murder when they leave or attempt to leave the abuser (Arbuckle *et. al.* 1996) and younger age of the women (reproductive age in particular) has also been found to be a risk factor (Shackelford *et. al.* 2000).

More than one study had explored the role of homicide in maternal deaths. In New York, 39% of currently or recently pregnant women died secondary to injuries, 63% of the deaths were the result

of homicide (Dannenberg *et. al.* 1995). Similarly in Chicago, 46.3% died of injuries and 57% were as a result of homicide (Fildes *et. al.* 1992).

Much less is known of developing countries. In South Africa only one pilot study has been done using inquest and newspaper reports to identify the pattern and incidence of femicide in the Johannesburg magisterial district. This led the author to conclude that 1 woman is killed every 6 days in South Africa. The methodology led to substantial underestimations, since racial bias in the reporting of murders among women made the media reports differentially incomplete (Vetten 1995).

2.4.2 Long-term health outcomes

Long-term health problems are mainly associated with psychological effects(discussed later), which may continue to have an impact for many years (Koss 1990, Koss *et. al.* 1991, Mullen *et. al.* 1988, Ellsberg *et. al.* 2000, Heise *et. al.* 1994a). The emotional stress associated with abuse has been found to manifest in somatisation of physical conditions (Walker *et. al.* 1995). Some 67% of women attending gastro-enteral clinics have been found to have a history of physical and sexual assault (Leserman *et. al.* 1998). Similar chronic responses were found in a review of studies on chronic pelvic pain; this found an association between this condition and sexual assault (Resnick *et. al.* 1997). In addition, abuse has been linked to chronic pain in general, including headaches, and it has been suggested that many of the physical problems may be symptoms of anxiety and depression (World Health Organisation 2000). In a study of women belonging to a Health Maintenance Organisation, health perceptions were examined and it was found that women with history of physical and sexual violence reported poorer health, poorer health habits and increased symptoms relating to most bodily functions (Koss *et. al.* 1991).

In a review of data reported by Resnick *et. al.* (1997), studies based on both men and women found that changes in the immune system (increased white blood cell count) followed stressful events. The authors suggest that this may increase risk for infections, fatigue and malignant disease. Allergy and skin problems in women with histories of abuse are also possibly due to changes in the immune system (Resnick *et. al.* 1997).

Poor health behaviours following sexual and physical abuse have been reported, with an increase in cigarette smoking and substance abuse (alcohol and drugs) (Amaro *et. al.* 1990). This has been reported often in studies of abuse and pregnancy (Berenson *et. al.* 1991, Campbell *et. al.* 1992, McFarlane *et. al.* 1996a). It is suggested that after the trauma women may increase smoking and substance abuse as a coping mechanism to reduce their fears and anxiety. Other long-term responses include neglect of health care, risky sexual behaviour and eating disorders (Resnick *et. al.* 1997). Permanent disabilities have been recorded in the international literature (Heise *et. al.* 1994b).

2.4.3 Impact on reproductive health

Pregnancy as a result of sexual assault has been reported in 5% of the reported rape cases in a national sample in the US (Holmes *et. al.* 1996). This translates into 32 000 rape-related pregnancies. The authors warn that this is an under-reporting of the true prevalence since women reporting rape would be given prophylactic medication to prevent pregnancy, while those who do not report it might not access preventive care. In South Africa in a case-control study to identify risks associated with teenage pregnancy, forced sexual initiation was strongly associated with such a pregnancy (risk ratio of 14.42) (Vundule *et. al.* 2001).

Many studies (mainly in the USA) have reported on the prevalence of abuse during pregnancy. Two reviews of these studies have been done, with both reporting a similar prevalences of 1- 17% (Campbell 1995) and 0.9-20.1% (Gazmararian *et. al.* 1996). The majority of studies reported prevalences between 3% and 8.3%. In the most recent study Martin *et. al.* (2001) reported that of the 3542 women, 6.9% reported abuse before pregnancy, 6.1% during it and 3.2% within 3.2 months in the post-partum period. These findings are supported by other population studies such as the Nicaraguan one where 30% of abused women reporting it happening during pregnancy (Ellsberg *et. al.* 2000) while in Australia 20% of women reported that it occurred for the first time during the pregnancy. The authors of one review (Gazamarian *et. al.* 1996) suggested that violence during pregnancy may be more common than complications such as pre-eclampsia, gestational diabetes and placenta praevia in the developed countries in which the studies were done.

Physical violence during pregnancy was reported in both the South African representative studies.

The SADHS found a prevalence of 1.5-7.5% in the nine provinces (Department of Health 2002). In the Three Province study the highest prevalence was reported by women in the Eastern Cape (9%). The Three Province study also provided more details about abusive behaviour during the pregnancy; 13-29% of women interviewed reported that their partners refused to buy items needed for the baby, and 3.6-10% said they were prevented from attending antenatal care. Of the women who reported abuse during pregnancy, 30-40% reported that they went into premature labour or miscarried as a result of violence directed at their abdomen (Jewkes *et. al.* 2001a).

Physical abuse during pregnancy has been reported together with other risk factors in studies in the USA. It has been associated with low birth weight, vaginal and cervical infections, poor obstetric history, unplanned pregnancies, anaemia, poor maternal weight gains, late antenatal attendance, use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs and being a teenager (McFarlane *et. al.* 1996a, Curry *et. al.* 1998, Parker *et. al.* 1994, Shcei and Bakketeig 1989, McFarlane *et. al.* 1996b, McFarlane *et. al.* 1992, Martin *et. al.* 1996, Stewart and Cecutti 1993). It has been suggested by Campbell (1995) that the mechanism for low birth weight could be due to abdominal trauma, placental damage, uterine contractions, premature rupture of membranes, infections from forced sex, or exacerbation of chronic problems during pregnancy (such as diabetes and hypertension). She also suggests that indirect pathways for low birth weight may occur as responses to increase stress result in cigarette smoking and substance use, which have been reported risk factors in many studies.

The only population-based study which reported on the association between sexual abuse and gynaecological problems showed that abused women were more likely to report having symptoms such as irregular bleeding, pelvic pain, vaginal discharge and unspecified symptoms related to the genitals, as well as sexual problems such as loss of libido, difficulty in attaining orgasm and problems caused by conflicts over sexual frequency (Schei and Bakketeig 1989). In a study of women attending health services, a history of abuse was more likely to be reported with gynaecological problems and sexual dysfunctions (Koss *et. al.* 1991).

Contraceptive use has been associated with violence and studies presented in the Population Report (Heise *et. al.* 1999) report how women do not discuss its use because of fear of violent repercussion from their partners. As part of men's ideas on masculinity -having many children

is viewed as a sign of virility and preventing pregnancy may be perceived as an insult to their virility. In addition infertility is also always perceived as the women's fault and in interviews with women seeking infertility care at a tertiary institution in Cape Town, many spoke about being abused by the partners because of their childlessness (Dyer *et. al.* 2002a). A qualitative study in India found that women who were sterilized were at greater risk of being abused (Rao 1997).

2.4.4 Impact on mental health

In her recent paper on health consequences of intimate partner violence Campbell (2002) reports on studies which have showed consistent associations between depression and Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and violence against women. The Global Burden of Disease study has estimated that depression will become the second most important disease burden in the world by 2020, with women twice as likely as men to experience it. Accumulating evidence from various settings (and mainly from developing countries) links abuse as a stressor for psychiatric morbidity among women (World Health Organisation 2000, Campbell and Lewandowski 1997, Mullen *et. al.* 1988, Gleason 1993, Marais *et. al.* 1999, Ellsberg *et. al.* 1999b, Saunders *et. al.* 1993, Leon and Thomas 1998, Fiscbach and Herbert 1997). A third of abused women suffer from depression (Heise *et. al.* 1994b) and in a study which followed-up women over time it was found that women who did not experience battering any longer scored significantly lower (less depressed) on the Beck Depression Inventory (Campbell *et. al.* 1994).

Self-esteem is significantly lowered by experiences of continuous abuse (World Health Organisation 2000) and as a response suicidal behaviour is possibly the most extreme form of emotional distress. It is associated with feelings of entrapment, shame, blame, isolation and mistrust of others. A USA study reported that a quarter of all suicide attempts by women were preceded by physical abuse (Stark and Flitcraft 1996).

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has been identified as an outcome of traumatic experiences in general, as well as of women's experiences of violence. It has been found to be much higher amongst abused women (OR 3.74) compared to non-abused women (Campbell 2002). It encompasses a broad set of symptoms including depression and anxiety. The associated signs are fear and anxiety, which result in behaviours such as avoidance of stimuli, alcohol and drug abuse,

attempted suicide or suicide. A South African study of women attending general practitioners found a similar association between PTSD, depression and reporting of abuse (Marais *et. al.* 1999). It has been suggested that the high prevalence of physical and sexual abuse could result in women being the largest group of sufferers of PTSD, and they may have a twofold higher risk than men (World Health Organisation 2000).

2.4.5 Use of health services

In a large study of 2560 women the use of physician services within the last 6 months was significantly associated with reporting sexual violence (Golding *et. al.* 1988). Multiple 'victimised' women (multiple assaults including sexual and physical) reported 6.9 visits per year to physicians, compared with 3.5 visits for 'non-victimised' women (Koss *et. al.* 1991). The same study also showed that abused women were more likely to use the services of physicians than mental health services. It is suggested that the low use of mental health services could be because women misinterpret their symptoms (World Health Organisation 2000).

In South Africa Jewkes *et. al.'s* (2001a) study found that more than a third of the women who reported abuse sought medical help while the earlier study of women attending primary care services in Alexander showed that 17% of the abused women required hospitalisation (Motsei 1993).

The medical costs of women who attended services as a result of rape or assaults were 2.5 times higher than those of non-victims (Koss *et. al.* 1991). Crude estimates of the health costs to South Africa from the Three Province Study (based on the number of visits to the health service) showed an average of R10 000 000 per province (in 1999 6 US$ = 1 Rand) (Jewkes *et. al.* 1999). A Canadian study has so far been the only one to calculate all costs involved in violence against women, and annual health costs were estimated to be $1 500 million (Greaves *et. al.* 1995).

The above discussion on health impact has reported on women's health only. This is because the health consequences of the use of violence or the links between health and masculinity have remained virtually unstudied. In her arguments for a new approach to gender and health Doyle (2001) notes that the hazardous requirements of aggressive masculinities may stunt men's full

potential for health. Although some studies report on stress, mood disorders and self-esteem- these are all explored in relation to the causation of the use of violence. Only one study has been reported in the literature describing a sample of 62 male batterers (Gerlock 1999) which completed a Symptoms of Stress Inventory which included physiological sub-scales. Overall 29% of the batterers felt that their medical problems were as a result of the violence while 23% reported having injured themselves and received care for such injuries. Information about health care visits were retrieved from the clinic data bases and it was found that more than 60% had health care visits in the previous 6 months (range 1-20 visits) with visits for mental health problems being more common.

More importantly - prevailing hegemonic masculinities of male dominance, toughness and honour promote risky lifestyles such as use of violence, alcohol and drug use, and multiple sexual partners - all which may jeopardize their health and well-being.

2.5 Interventions

The main focus of gender violence interventions has been to respond to the needs of women who experience violence. This has ranged from providing services and resources to legal and criminal justice reform. Community responses are limited and are dependent on strong women's organisation and on whether a community endorses violent behaviour against women. Garcia-Moreno (1999) provides examples of creative community responses which discourage men from using violence, such as the whistle blowing in Peru and the banging of pots in India in front of the house in which the violence is happening.

International responses such as the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) commit all states to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms and has also called for more responsibility by men as partners to end violence against women. It is often described as an international bill of rights for women. By accepting the Convention, all the Countries that have ratified it are legally bound to put its provisions into practice. They are also committed to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures they have taken to comply with their treaty obligations. In the most recent analysis of all the 169 member States, like many other countries, South African has also not yet presented their plan of action and their last report was in presented in 1998 (CEDAW http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/).

However, ultimately focusing on women alone will not provide the solution to this complex problem. It has been shown, in condom use (Weiss and Rao Gupta 1998) that men's involvement is critical in the response to end violence against women.

2.5.1 Interventions for men

The need to focus interventions on men (both primary and secondary prevention) is receiving increasing attention. The proliferation of men's studies in the last five years has contributed towards this (Pietilä 1999, Wolf-Light 1999). There are a growing number of men from both developed and developing countries that support and initiate interventions to end violence against women. Most of the well-established mens' ant-violence groups are based in North America with more than 100 such groups in the US (Flood 2001). The growth of men's groups in developing

countries is progressing at a slower pace but some innovative context specific programmes have emerged in developing countries such as India, Nicaragua, Republic of Trinidad , Mexico, Nepal, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. A recent virtual seminar series on '*Men's roles and responsibilities in ending gender based violence*' (Instraw:http://www.un-instaw.org/mensroles/vss_2) provided the opportunity to have a global discussion and to share experiences of working with men in different contexts. During the conclusion of the seminar the differences between men and the settings in which they live were highlighted as an important aspect in the development of strategies to work with men. Michael Kimmel warned of the trap that assumes " *that all men's violence all over the world is having something to do with being male and not having to do with being a man in a particular country at a particular time and place*" (*Ibid*). This is of particular relevance to a country such as South Africa with its many cultures.

Equally important for the success of the men's movement in ending violence against women, is the building of partnerships with women's organisation. Most of the emerging men's groups position themselves as accountable to women organisations, they consult before initiating campaigns, do not compete for funding and other resources and develop strong communication and trust through their collaborative activities.

Interventions with men have focused on both violence intervention and violence prevention. Three main strategies have emerged, i.e. public awareness campaigns directed at men, perpetrator programs and smaller projects that focused on at risk groups such as young boys.

2.5.1.1 Public awareness campaigns focusing on men

These campaigns aim to decrease the likelihood of men to use violence by challenging the beliefs, values and discourses which support violence against women. The white ribbon campaign is one of the largest effort and the best publicised awareness programs which started in Canada in 1991 on the anniversary of the 1989 Montreal massacre. The campaign has spread to many other countries and focuses on raising awareness among men to encourage them to wear a white ribbon which is a public pledge never to commit violence against women and to help towards ending the violence (Kaufman 1999). Interestingly, in South Africa the white ribbon campaign has been driven by women organisations and has become as symbolic as the red ribbon to raise awareness around HIV/AIDS.

In most countries these campaigns are promoted by NGO's. Australia is one country which received support from its state with three public campaigns supported by the government that tested a variety of messages and themes targeting both perpetrators and men in communities. These were "Stop Violence Against Women", "Freedom from Fear" and the most recent campaign "Violence Against Women - It's Against All The Rules" used prominent sportsmen on their posters and sporting terms in their messages. For example a message from a soccer player was "Mark a women, watch her every move? That's stalking" (Flood 2002).

Other examples of public campaigns include a Canadian initiative which developed in response to the killing of 2 women in Toronto. A small group of men started walking through the country raising awareness in the communities they made contact with (Hearn 2001). In Namibia a similar process of meetings with men in communities throughout the country occurred in their preparation for a national conference on "Men against violence against women". Various media strategies to raise awareness also formed part of the awareness strategy. Following this conference an umbrella organisation - Namibia Men for Change (NAMEC), was formed to continue the activities with men in the country (Odendaal 2001).

2.5.1.2 Working with boys

Connell (http;//www. un_instraw.org/mensroles/vss_1_3) notes that working with boys is a critical strategy because it is during the process of growing up that most boys are initiated into many forms of violence. When they reach adulthood they have been presented with many models promoting them to use violence to overcome contenders " *They are told stories of legendary heroes who may kill opponents. They are given toy soldiers, toy guns, toy tanks ...boys are invited to play games of ritual combat such as football in which the physical ability to overcome an opponent's body in a contest of strength, skill and aggression is the point of the game... . Huge publicity and a lot of money is given to the young men who do this successfully*" .

Many of the projects with young boys aim to introduce them to alternative models of masculinity. Most however, are in its infancy and its effectiveness have not yet been evaluated. Barker (2001), who has written extensively about young men and violence reports on an intervention project in Brazil. Young men with more gender equitable traits from low socio-economic were identified

as potential peer promoters and work alongside other community men who have an interest in the issue - who in turn serve as positive role models to these young men. One of the activities of these young men included a drama production used to engage other young men in communities.

A project to introduce positive role models to young Aboriginal boys in Australian communities has been initiated. (Hammill 2001). Boys who have grown up without fathers or whose fathers' showed little interest in them were introduced to men (business men from outside their community) who spent time playing and interacting with them making go-karts. The organsisers were hoping that both the boys as well as their biological fathers would benefit from this interaction. The hope was that the biological fathers will realise that it is acceptable and fun to have meaningful recreational interactions with their boy children. Developing this nurturing role of men is also the aim of the Canadian *'Boys for Babies'* intervention. Boys of 10 - 12 years are encouraged to develop nurturing skills by interacting with a baby (Kaufman 2000). In Egypt the struggle against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) includes the encouragement of young men to become active in their communities by announcing that they are prepared to marry uncircumcised women (Khafagi 2001).

2.5.1.1 Perpetrator programmes

Perpetrator programmes are recognised as an important component of a response to violence against women, and developed from the shelter movements 20 years ago (Pence and Paymar 1993). In the US and the UK police and court services reform resulted in men being mandated into counseling or education programmes. It soon became obvious that many men attended to ensure that charges were dropped and their record was expunged (Tolman and Edleson 1995).

When these programmes started there was considerable debate on what the most effective strategies would be in dealing with perpetrators and many continued their work without empirical research. The early programmes were based on traditional *psycho-dynamic* approaches and did not take into consideration the role of power differences in sexual relations. The cognitive behavioral programmes challenged this approach by combing a gendered analysis (Adams 1988, Ptacek 1989). This is the most widely practiced approached in North America. Progress in the US has reached a stage where this model (Duluth model) has been legislated as the only one to be

used for treatment of court-mandated perpetrators. This has been strongly criticised and debates continue on what is the correct treatment.

Success was measured by recidivism rates, and in general most of the programmes in the US (of different lengths) reported low success rates (Tolman and Edleson 1995, Scott 1999, Gondolf 1996). Again the problem of measurement is apparent here, with programmes using different outcomes as 'success'. Scott (1999) a researcher in this area, writes *"myself and others have struggled, with little success, to identify the components of intervention"* (p. 66). She refers to what should be included (skills training vs. education and awareness raising), duration and structure (group work vs. couple or individual). She also warns that abusive men are not a homogeneous group and therefore one specific programme cannot expect to be successful with all the men who enter each programme.

One of the few valid assessments of perpetrator programmes has been done in the UK. Two programmes using the Duluth model were evaluated using a longitudinal method and a comparison group of men that received the more orthodox interventions (such as fines, probation and imprisonment). Assessments were done in 3 intervals with the last evaluation done one year after the first assessment. The results showed a significant difference between the two groups 1 year after the initial event. The men in the perpetrator programme were less likely to have used violence compared to the control group (Dobash *et. al.* 1997). It has been suggested that men should be followed up for more than a year. Mullender and Burton (2000) report on a US evaluation of 4 programmes after 30 months and although it is not known if a comparison group was used, the study found that half the men had used violence once, 23% has been violent repeatedly and 21% had been neither physically nor verbally abusive. These findings indicate that all interventions should have comprehensive in-built evaluations since much more work is required to understand the best intervention for violent men.

2.5.2 Interventions in South Africa

In South Africa most interventions are still focused on providing services for women. The Prevention of Family Violence Act of 1993 was the first legislative step to address Domestic Violence as a public issue within South Africa. This Act made the process of acquiring an interdict

to prevent family violence more accessible and attainable for women. However, this Act became enacted in 1993 just before the first democratic elections and the inherent were viewed mainly as a result of politicians' rush to process 'progressive' legislation. The weaknesses in the Act resulted in a concerted lobby effort by women's organisations for its review. After a long process of consultation with civil society, the Domestic Violence Act No 116 of November of 1998 was formulated and came into effect in December 1999. This Act broadened the definition of domestic violence significantly (including emotional, sexual and economic abuse and, cohabiting and same sex relationships) and placed 'positive duty' on the police to assist women including informing them of their rights. This Act has been hailed as one of the most progressive in the world. However, an evaluation of the impact of the Act one year after its implementation showed that it remained mostly ineffective. Women interviewed one month after they applied for a Protection Order mostly reported ongoing violence by the partner as well as continued experiences of secondary victimsation from criminal justice personnel during the process of application. It was evident that the criminal justice system did not adequately prepare for the implementation of the Act by training of criminal justice personnel, providing of private rooms and referral of women to service providers (Mathews and Abrahams 2001). This confirms the earlier findings from a study in which the author warned that the budget allocated for the implementation of the Act was insufficient (Goldman 2000).

A National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) has been developed and relevant government departments contribute to the strategy. For example, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) has made funding available for research in the area of gender violence. In 1997 the Department of Health held a consultative workshop on Health and Violence to develop a national plan of action for violence prevention and control. In the education department it was recognised that very little instruction on sexuality and gender relations takes place, and life skills programmes were introduced in 1998. The Project managers note that implementation has been problematic since other educational emergencies received priority (personnel communication Director PPA Western Cape: Ms C Arendse). A second project is in its pilot stage which also addresses violence against women in life-skills programmes with pre-and primary school children and the training of teachers (Dreyer *et. al.* 2002).

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The National Network on Violence Against Women is an umbrella body of organisations comprising of both NGOs and government departments working together to support efforts to decrease violence against women. Its main activities appear to be the co-ordination of national campaigns such as *National Women's Day* on 9th August and the *16 days of Activism* during 25th November to 10th December.

One of the most innovative awareness raising initiative around violence against women was the *Soul City* prime time drama series. This health promotion initiative in collaboration with the National Network on Violence Against Women aired a 13 part television drama series depicting violence against women and the use of the new Act at the end of 1999 - at the time when the Domestic Violence Act became enacted. This series had a television audience of 12 million. The series was followed by a national radio and print media initiative. This health promotion initiative covers many other topics such as HIV/AIDS and has been expanding into other Southern African countries (Soul City 1997).

Most of the interventions with youth arise from the need to raise awareness on the risk associated with HIV/AIDS. An innovative awareness campaign is the '*loveLife*' initiative (LoveLife http://www.lovelife.org.za) that is developed by and targeted for young people. It is a "media-driven lifestyle brand that taps into youth culture and lifestyle to make sex safe" . It includes youth advisory services, drop-in centres and youth-friendly clinics.

Other projects include a South African adaptation of a sexual and reproductive health training manual called *Stepping Stones*. This series of community-based workshops covers relationship issues such as sexuality, communication, HIV prevention, assertiveness training, gender and violence, and is used as a community training project (Jewkes and Cornwall 1998). A pilot study evaluating the attitudes after the workshops showed a significant difference in the womens' attitudes toward gender relations. However, men did not show any significant changes (Nduna *et. al.* 2002).

Finally at the 1st Gender-based violence and health conference in April 2002 a number of projects relating to the public health response to gender violence were presented. These were mainly in the area of training of health workers in improving their management of women attending services

(Khan 2002, Jacobs and Jewkes 2002) as well as developing health worker's skills in the collection of forensic evidence (Martin 2002 , Denny 2002).

2.5.2.1 Interventions for men in South Africa

To date there has been very few initiatives to engage men in anti-violence projects. Only four such projects were identified in the country. The 5 in 6 Project from the Catholic Welfare Development programme is based in Cape Town. They work with men to build their awareness and to encourage them to take up opportunities to do something 'positive', i.e. to encourage men to become involve in taking action against gender inequalities (Maisel 2000). The Gender Education and Training Network (Getnet) organsiation had their first men's awareness workshop in 1996 - a time when focusing on men 'raised eyebrows'. A guidebook "*Masculinities in the Making of Gendered Identities*", based on their experiences of running gender awareness workshops for men over the years, is their latest project (Network News 2002). Agisanang Domestic Abuse and Prevention and Training (ADAPT) focuses on young men and is based in Alexandra (ADAPT 1997) while the fourth project called Men as Partners (MAP) focuses on gender and sexual power within broader reproductive health issues (Engender Health and PPASA 2001).

Other initiatives include the Men's March, which was initiated by South African National Coalition of Non-Governmental Organisation (SANCONGO) but received little support from men in general. In 2002 the 'Justice for Women' campaign was more successful in reviving the 'men's march' during the activities for the '*16 Days of Activism*' against violence against women (25 November - 10 December).

Most responses from men came as a result of an 'anti-rape advert' which appeared on national TV in August 1999. This advertisement and the problem of rape and men's non-involvement received huge attention when the advert was banned after 27 men and one woman protested because it was felt that it discriminated against men. The advert's wording was as follows:

" ...more women are raped in South Africa than in any other country in the world. One in three women will be raped in their lifetime in South Africa: that is every 26 seconds a woman is raped in South Africa, and perhaps what is worst of all, that the rest of the men in SA seem to think that

rape is not their problem...". A public debate between women's NGO and government continued for a long time, and created many opportunities for men in particular to engage with this issue in public.

2.5.2.2 Perpetrator programmes in South Africa

There are few programmes for abusers in the country. Few NGOs offer counseling services for men who attend clinical settings at the request of their partners. The Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA) is the only NGO in Cape Town that provides such a service. Rehabilitative work is also done with sexual offences in prisons, but these are not structured and consists mainly of counseling.

2.6 Conclusion

The review of the literature has left no doubt that violence against women is a universal problem affecting many South Africans. Many studies in the area of masculinities have demonstrated how South African men live within societies in which beliefs about being a man are fundamental to their use of violence against partners.

Overwhelmingly, prevalence studies have used women as informants but studies of men reporting their use of violence are also needed and would contribute towards the shift in understanding the use of violence against partners is both a men and women's issue. In addition a broader holistic strategy that promote a human rights culture and that deal with violent crime is required. Interventions with men would be an integral part of such a strategy.

Few risk factor studies have been done - less with men than with women. The risk factor data that have emerged have also found few risk factors associated with women with most of the risk factors found to be associated with the men's perpetration of the violence. Studies with men are thus *critical* to explore what the challenges are that are facing men in the South Africa. Interventions however require sound data and Garcio-Moreno (1999) notes "*The paucity of information in risk and protective factors are a major constraint to the design of locally relevant programmes and policies*" (p. 10).

Risk factors studies among men is therefore critical in the South African response to the problem. The results of this study and the conclusions drawn from it will contribute substantially to the description and the further understanding of South African men's use of violence. This can feed into the development of strategies to develop anti-violence interventions that focus on men and promote harmonious relationships between men and women.

Opportunities to conduct research are greater now than ever before as the topic of violence against women has become an important political issue. The need to stop the spread of violence in current and future generations should be recognised as an integral part of raising the status of South African women.

Chapter 3

The study methodology

3.1 Background to the study

The Gender & Health Research Group of the Medical Research Council (then called Centre for Epidemiological Research of Southern Africa (CERSA) Women's Health) recognised in 1997 that gender violence is a major public health problem affecting the health status and quality of life of South African women. It identified the huge gap in knowledge about men as perpetrators of abuse, such knowledge being vital in the development of public health strategies aimed at men. These interventions would ultimately impact on improving the health status of both male and female South Africans.

A proposal for a study to explore factors associated with men's use of violence against their partners was developed, but accessing a study site was not easy. A first choice was to do the study amongst men working in the South African military services. However, the bureaucratic processes were long and cumbersome, and the focus was changed to parastatals such as the Railway Services (which was also not successful). The main reason given for the non-participation was the major structural changes which most South African organisations and governmental structures were undergoing at the time. Eventually trade unions were approached and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) supported the idea. The Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) was particularly keen to participate and started facilitating the process by identifying a few companies with which they have good relationships which were potentially study sites.

An initial qualitative study was conducted among men working at a food company and the results of this study formed part of a mini-thesis in partial completion of the researcher's Master's Degree in Public Health (Abrahams 1997). Results from focus group discussions with the men were used to develop the questionnaire for the quantitative study, which was also piloted at this site. Furthermore, permission was granted to do the study at a major food chain store in Cape Town and the quantitative study commenced among the male workers. At a presentation of the study protocol to experts in the field it was suggested that the researcher use the study for higher degree purposes. However, the sample size had to be increased, which could not be

accommodated by the number of workers at the food company. This sample then formed part of the pilot study, which provided valuable information on conducting of interviews with men at the workplace.

While looking for an adequate study site, important criteria were the workers' and managers' willingness and motivation to implement programmes for workers after the completion of the study. However, negotiating permission to do the study with such follow-up programmes as a stipulation was difficult. Management had problems in allowing the workers time-off for the interviews as well as for the follow-up programmes. The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) was keen for the study to be done with municipal workers, since they had identified domestic violence as impacting on the functioning of the workers. They facilitated meetings with the management of the local Cape Town municipalities, and once the first municipality agreed to participate it was easier to convince the others to join. In the end, three of the six municipalities in Cape Town participated in the study-Tygerberg, Oostenberg and Cape Town (see Figure 3.1).

At both of the pilot sites reports of the study results were presented to management and the unions. Intervention programmes facilitated by the 5 in 6 Project for male workers followed. Wide acceptance of the follow-up awareness programme for men was an indication of the potential use of the workplace as a way to reach and work with men.

3.2 Study setting

The study was conducted among male workers at three Cape Town municipalities. These municipalities were not chosen randomly. Cape Town and Tygerberg were the two biggest municipalities (in terms of number of workers), and Oostenberg although smaller was easily accessible.

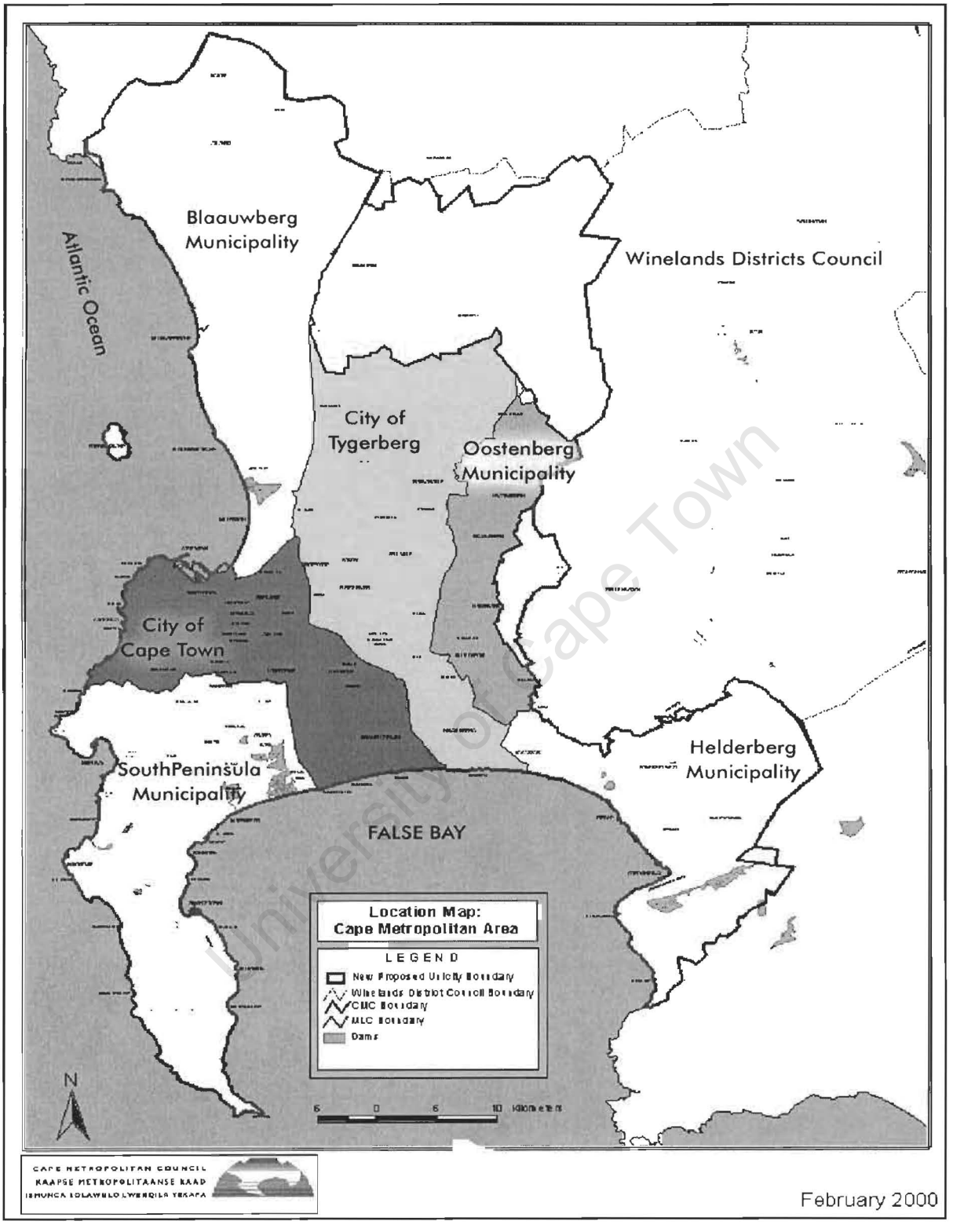

Figure 3.1 Map of study area

3.2.1 The municipalities

Municipalities are local public service authorities with a primary function to deliver services to communities. Among these services are the economic development of the communities as well as: supply of electricity and water, sanitation and waste disposal, civil engineering, maintenance and development of recreational facilities, primary health care services, housing, law enforcement and emergency services. The structures of the municipalities are broadly divided along these service delivery activities. For example, civil engineering is a division on its own.

At the time of the study, the Cape Metropole region was divided into 6 municipalities. These municipal boundaries were shaped along racial lines, based on the earlier apartheid policies. This resulted in separate and unequal provision of budgets, which impacted on the provision of services and the development of the communities. This resulted in widespread poverty in areas which were allocated to the Black population. With the change to a democratic government, a long process of restructuring commenced to ensure the formation of a municipal service which would not only provide an equitable distribution of budgets, services and development, but which also could redress the inequities of the previous structures by focussing on economic development. In November 2000 these 6 municipalities merged into a single Unicity.

3.2.2 The municipal workers

The overwhelming majority of the workers at the three municipalities studied were men. Many also lived in the areas in which they work (which is municipal policy). The majority of the male workers in the three municipalities were unskilled or semiskilled (Human Resource Departments-personal communication). Essentially the main functions of the municipalities included jobs which entailed the cleaning of streets, managing waste, structuring and maintaining roads, ensuring safe supply of electricity and water, and developing and maintaining recreational facilities and other aspects of the natural environment. Huge administrative systems were in place to support these functions.

The history of workers in South Africa is closely linked to the struggle against apartheid, and the organisation of workers played a huge role in ensuring the transition towards a democratic South Africa. Although the struggle to improve working conditions and wages continues, municipal

workers have also directed their attention to the development and restructuring of the municipal services. Often the interests of workers clashed with the restructuring of the services. For example, in the formation of the Unicity (which is the new structure which combined the six municipalities into a single municipal service) unions fought against the privatisation of some of the suggested municipal services since this impacted directly on their work through potential loss of jobs.

The municipal workers at the three study sites belonged to two main unions. The majority belonged to SAMWU, an affiliate to the broader COSATU body, and a smaller number belonged to the Independent Municipal Allied Trade Union (IMATU). Both of these unions were involved in the implementation of the study.

3.2.3 Access to the study sites

Once the executive members of the two unions gave their approval of the study, meetings with the corporate structure of the municipalities followed. The study was introduced and explained and their participation was invited. Following corporate agreement, a dual process to inform workers about the study was set up via both the union structures as well as via municipal management.

3.3 Study design

The study used a prospective cross-sectional analytical design.

3.4 Study population

The study population was males working at the three municipalities of Tygerberg, Oostenberg and Cape Town.

3.5 The sample

The study had three study sites, i.e. the three municipalities. At both Cape Town and Tygerberg the sampling frame was the men working within three divisions, i.e. Civil Engineering, Water & Cleansing and Parks and Recreation. This restriction of the sample was to minimise logistical

problems, since both these municipalities were in the progress of major restructuring. It also ensured that the study would cause minimal disturbance to the ongoing services of the municipalities. Oostenberg municipality had fewer employees so all the male employees at the municipality formed the sampling frame.

3.5.1 Sampling

The sampling frame consisted of a list of names of male employees provided by each of the Human Resources Departments of the municipalities. For both Cape Town and Tygerberg the sampling frame was prepared by combining the lists of names from the three divisions before the sample was drawn. A computerised random sample of 1800 names was selected - 600 from each municipality. The sample size was calculated to allow adequate multiple regression analysis. It was based on the anticipation of a 25% prevalence of intimate partner violence being reported by the study population. This same estimate was presented by the South African Government to the United Nations Conference on Women in 1994 (Beijing Conference Report 1994).

Power calculations were also considered in the sample size calculations. The maximum acceptable difference between the estimated prevalence (25%) and the true population prevalence was set at 90% power with a statistical significance level ≤ 0.05.

3.5.2 Exclusion criteria

Although the criteria requested for the sampling frame from the Human Resources Departments was that only male employees should be included, 37 female employees were identified during the setting up of the interviews. No further restriction or stratification was applied.

In addition, in the final analysis only men who reported having a female partners were included. This was only identified during data management, after the completion of the interviews.

3.5.3 Response rate

The overall response rate is presented in Figure 3.2, and more detail is shown for each of the municipalities in Table 3.1. An overall response rate of 79.2% was achieved (denominator calculated by subtracting women's names, i.e. 1800 - 37 = 1763).

The main reason for non response was related to unavailability of the respondents due to absenteeism, leave (annual and sick) and emergency staff having to be on stand-by. In addition, there was a lack of co-operation in some cases due to poor communication about the study between management and supervisors and between union officials and the shop stewards. Two attempts were made to reschedule interviews to try and improve the response rate.

Oostenberg municipality had the lowest response rate at 64.5%. This was mainly due to the unavailability of the men, which was aggravated by poor support for the study from management in one particular division, which hampered the setting up of interviews. Furthermore, since this sample was drawn from all the male employees, it included emergency staff, who had more complicated work schedules.

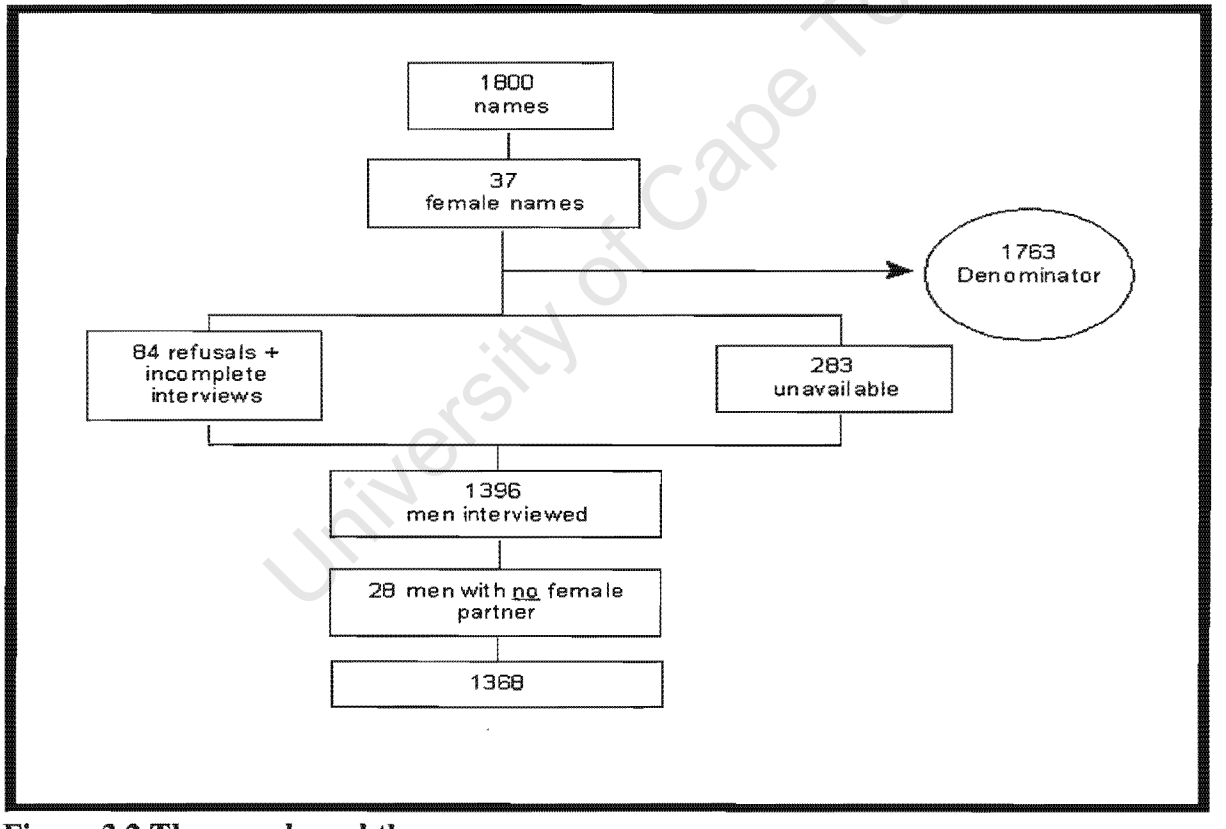

Figure 3.2 The sample and the responses

Overall only 66 men refused to participate in the study, and 18 interviews were not completed. The main reason given by respondents for discontinuation of the interviews was reluctance to speak about their personal life. The overwhelming majority of both refusals and incomplete interviews were from the Oostenberg sample.

Table 3.1: The calculation of response rate for each of the three municipalities

	Cape Town n	Tygerberg n	Oostenberg n	Total N
Sample drawn	600	600	600	**1800**
Female names	6	31	-	**37**
No partner	6	11	11	**28**
Incomplete interviews	5	4	9	**18**
Refusals	11	7	48	**66**
Unavailable	101	24	158	**283**
Response rate %	**80.3**	**93.8**	**64.2**	**79.2**

Furthermore, the study could only establish whether a respondent was an abuser if he reported that he had a partner, and 28 of the men did not report currently having or having had female partners within the last 10 years. They were excluded from the final analysis.

3.6 Formative research

An initial qualitative study in the form of focus group discussions with men was calculated at the beginning of the project. The overall aims of the formative research were to improve the focus of the questionnaire, to understand the terms men used in their discussions of women and violence, to become aware of the type of responses to expect in the quantitative study, and to become familiar with working with men on a sensitive topic. The central research question was "What are men's perceptions and attitudes to gender and violence and how do these impact on their relationships with women?"

The focus groups were held during working hours at the initial work site, and were led by two experienced facilitators. One facilitator was a man who works exclusively with male groups and the other was a woman (the author). The men were asked to volunteer to participate in the study. The volunteers were divided into two groups and two sets of focus group discussions were held with each group, one week apart. Repeating discussions with a group encouraged the development of trust, which allowed the men to discuss the topic more comfortably and frankly. The groups consisted of both married and unmarried Coloured and African men, with ages ranging from mid twenties to mid forties.

A scope of enquiry was used to guide discussions and included the following:

- What are men's perceptions and experiences of the sources of conflict between themselves and their partners?
- What are the nature and the circumstances of the conflict?
- How does conflict between themselves and their partners get resolved?
- What are their perceptions of the role of women and the role of men?
- What do they consider as violence against women?
- What are their childhood experiences in relation to discipline?

The results of the formative research are reported in Appendix I.

3.7 The questionnaire

3.7.1 Questionnaire development

The questionnaire was developed by reviewing the literature, meeting with experts in the field, and from the earlier formative qualitative study conducted at the first pilot study site. The questionnaire was developed in English and translated into both Afrikaans and Xhosa (see pilot study later 3.11).

3.7.2 Types of questions

Most questions were close-ended with mutually exclusive categories. A few questions were open-ended, which allowed for the inclusion of variables not identified earlier. These open-ended questions were coded into closed categories during data management for further analysis. Race was the only variable that was based on interviewer observation since it was considered not appropriate to ask a respondent to identify his race.

3.7.3 The variables

The overwhelming majority of the variables were categorical, requiring dichotomous answers such as the 'yes' and 'no' indicating the presence or absence of an attribute. Some of the answers were nominal, which did not indicate rank and consisted of two or more mutually exclusive categories. Other variables such as age and witnessing mothers being abused were ordinal variables indicating rank. In addition, some of the variables required more than one question, e.g.

educational level was measured using more than one question, while others required a composite scale made of many more questions.

3.7.3.1 Choice of variables

The underlying purpose of all the variables used in the study was to identify the risk and protective factors associated with use of violence by the men. These variables were informed by theories on the causation of men's violence against women, discussed in the previous chapter. The integrated ecological model developed by Heise (1998) shown in Figure 2.2 (p.34) formed the basis for the choice of variables. The way the study variables fit into the four layers of the ecological model (i.e. individual, relationship, community and societal factors) is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Correspondence of the study variables with the four layers of the integrated ecological model

Individual factors	Relationship factors	Community factors	Societal factors
• Age • Race • Witnessing abuse as a child • Discipline as a child • Presence of a father • Alcohol use • Drug use • Involvement in crime • Religion • Multiple partners • Self -esteem	• Partner conflict • Verbal aggression • Work related frustrations	• Socio-economic status	• Views on the use of violence in general • Views on the use of violence against women • Views on gender roles

The variables related to the individual factors included demographic variables (age and ethnicity) and personal behaviour variables (witnessing abuse as a child, criminal involvement, alcohol and drug use, etc.). Other variables included at this level which were not mentioned in the original model were age, religion and multiple partners. These were identified during the group discussions with men during the formative research. Similarly, work-related frustrations were added to the relationship level, since this was also identified during the formative work as a stressor which could be related to use of violence in relationships. A range of different variables were used to determine the socio-economic status of the respondents. Different questions were used since no single variable has yet been found which best describes socio-economic status in South Africa. Lastly, variables at the societal level included men's views on the use of violence against women, their views on gender roles and on the use of violence in general.

3.7.4 Variable definitions

The operational definitions of the variables used in the study are shown in Table 3.3. Ordinal scales are presented for those variables for which scales were used (Abramson and Abramson 1999).

Table 3.3: Operational definitions of the variables used in the study

Variable	Definition	Scale
Demographic		
Race	• Interviewer observations categorised into: ▸ African ▸ White ▸ Coloured ▸ Indian	
Age	• Age at last birthday given	▸ <20 years ▸ 21- 29 years ▸ 30 - 39 years ▸ 40 - 49 years ▸ 50+ years
Socio-economic status		
Educational level	• Last grade attained - up to Grade 12 (Matric) • A positive response to whether the person had post-school leaving education (including university, technikon or college attendance)	▸ No schooling ▸ Grade 1-Grade 7 ▸ Grade 8-Grade 10 ▸ Grade 11-Grade 12
Occupational level	• The work which the person actually performs was categorised into four mutually exclusive categories: ▸ unskilled (labourers, cleaners, etc.) ▸ semi-skilled (drivers, operators, clerks, etc.) ▸ skilled (artisan, foreman, etc.) ▸ professional (engineers, senior managers, etc.)	▸ Unskilled ▸ Semi-skilled ▸ Skilled ▸ Professional
Personal income	• Personal salary per month after deductions • A positive response to question "do you make money from another source"	
Type of housing	• Type of house person lived in was categorised into: ▸ formal housing (flat, house and a room inside a house) ▸ informal housing (a back room in a yard, or a shack)	
Household crowding	• Measured by dividing the number of people living in the house by the number of rooms used for sleeping. • No rooms were excluded, i.e. all rooms mentioned were included such as lounges, kitchens, etc. • Children calculated as 1	▸ 2 or fewer persons/room ▸ Between3-4 per room ▸ > 4 per room
Ownership of a house	A positive response to ownership of a house	

Variable	Definition	Scale
Availability of households goods	A positive response to the availability of one or more of the following items: a television — a microwave a washing machine — a telephone an MNet TV channel — a car	
Childhood experiences		
Presence of father during childhood	• Who raised him as a child was categorised into ‣ both mother & father (including grandparents) ‣ female-headed home (including grandmother) ‣ other (adoption/foster-care) • How often he saw his father as a child categorised into: ‣ always ‣ sometimes ‣ occasionally ‣ never saw father • How often his father showed an interested in him as a child categorised into: ‣ a lot ‣ sometimes ‣ never	 ‣ Always ‣ Sometimes ‣ Occasionally ‣ Never ‣ A lot ‣ Sometimes ‣ Never
Head of home during childhood	• Head of the home during childhood categorised into: ‣ both mother & father ‣ mother only ‣ father only	
Discipline during childhood How often disciplined	• Positive response to having received hidings as a child • How often he got hidings as a child categorised into: ‣ frequent hidings (daily, weekly) ‣ infrequent hidings (less than above)	 ‣ Frequent ‣ Infrequent ‣ Never
Witnessing of mother's abuse during childhood How often abuse witnessed	• Positive response to whether he witnessed his mother being abused by his father or her boyfriend/s as a child • How often he saw the abuse was categorised into: ‣ weekly ‣ monthly ‣ occasionally ‣ once	 ‣ Never ‣ Weekly ‣ Monthly ‣ Occasionally ‣ Once
Work-related frustrations		
Work-related frustrations How dealt with the frustrations	• A positive response to whether he is frustrated at work • A positive response on whether he: ‣ Spoke to others about it ‣ Spoke to someone at work ‣ Spoke to a friend ‣ Spoke to partner about it ‣ Picked argument with a partner ‣ Picked argument with others ‣ Used physical force to deal with it	

Variable	Definition	Scale
Personal behavioural factors		
Alcohol use	• Positive response to: ‣ current use ‣ past use ‣ never	‣ Current use ‣ Past use ‣ Never
Drinking pattern	• How often alcohol was used was categorised ‣ drinks most days ‣ drinks mainly weekends ‣ drinks 2 - 3 times a week ‣ less than above	‣ Drinks most days ‣ Drinks mainly weekends ‣ Drinks 2-3 times a week ‣ Less than above
Alcohol use problematic	• Positive response to alcohol use created problems in relationships	
Drug use (marijuana)	• Positive response to: ‣ Current use ‣ Past use ‣ Never	‣ Current use ‣ Past use ‣ Never
Drug use was problematic	• Positive response to drug use created problems in relationships	
Religion Active in religious activities	• A positive response to whether he belonged to a religion • Positive response to whether he was active in religious activities	
Fights at work	• A positive response to whether he had ever been involved in a fight at work	
Fights in community	• A positive response to whether he had ever been involved in a fight in the community	
Arrested by police Number of arrests Reasons for the arrests	• A positive response to whether he had ever been arrested by police • Number of arrests categorised into: ‣ one ‣ more than one • Open-ended question on the reasons for arrests re-coded into categories: ‣ for violence against women ‣ for violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs ‣ for political activities ‣ for theft ‣ for possession of weapon	
Been to jail Time spent in jail	• A positive response to whether he had ever been to jail • Time spent in jail categorised into: ‣ less than a month ‣ 1-6 months ‣ more than 6 months	‣ Less than a month ‣ 1-6 months ‣ More than 6 months
Gang involvement	• A positive response to whether he had ever belonged to a gang	

Variable	Definition	Scale
Number of current partners	• Summed the number of current partners and categorised into: ‣ 1 current partner ‣ > 1 current partner	
Acceptability of hitting a woman Reasons as to why it is acceptable to hit a woman	• A positive response to whether he agreed that a man can hit a woman for certain reasons • Open-ended question on the reasons given for hitting a woman were categorised into: ‣ for not performing her role ‣ for being cheeky ‣ for being drunk ‣ for having affairs ‣ for being provoked and having to defend himself	

3.7.4.1 Composite scales

Composite scales were formed to measure self-esteem, views on the use of violence and views on gender roles. The items measuring each of the three scales are presented in Table 3.4.

Self-esteem

The scale for self-esteem was adapted from the scale developed by Rosenberg (1979). It is based on the individuals' perceptions and feelings of self in relation to others. In this study the men were asked to agree or disagree with six questions in relation to their work situation as well as in relation to their home situation

Views on gender roles

The 11-item scale which measured gender role expectations was adapted from Rouse (1988). The concept of gender roles used in this scale referred to individuals' beliefs and attitudes about how men and women should behave, especially in an intimate relationship. As with the self-esteem scale the men were asked to agree or disagree with each of the items.

Views on violence in general

A search of the literature did not find a scale which measures individuals' beliefs and attitudes towards the use of violence in genera. A 18-item scale was developed made up of various scenarios for the potential use of violence. The men were asked to agree, not agree or sometimes agree to the each of the scenarios. Sometimes agree was scored at 0.5 in the calculation of the final score.

Table 3.4: Items of the scales used in the study

Variable	Items	
Self esteem in relation to their work situation	**Agree or disagree with:** When at work you are satisfied with the person you are When at work there are times that you feel that there is a lot wrong with you You feel that you have a number of good qualities compared to other workers When at work you wish that you could have more respect for yourself When at work you feel that you do not have much to be proud of You feel that you are a person of worth equal to other people here at your work	 Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree* Disagree Agree Disagree*
Self esteem in relation to their home situation	When at home you are satisfied with the person you are When at home there are times that you feel that there is a lot wrong with you You feel that you have a number of good qualities compared to other men When at home you wish that you could have more respect for yourself When at home you feel that you do not have much to be proud of When at home you feel that you are a person of worth equal to other people	Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree Disagree* Agree* Disagree Agree Disagree*
Views on gender roles	**Agree or disagree with:** A woman's place is in the home Men should share household tasks A husband should punish a wife if she does something wrong A good wife always obeys a husband A man is the head of a household A good wife tries not to make her husband angry Sometimes a man must hit his wife to remind her who is boss in the house If a wife earns more money than her husband then the relationship can be troubled A wife/girlfriend should be able to say no if a husband /boyfriend wants sex and she does not A man has the final say in all family matters It is OK for a woman to be the boss in the house	 Agree# Disagree Agree Disagree# Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree Agree Disagree# Agree# Disagree Agree# Disagree
Views on violence in general	**Agree, disagree or sometimes agree that it is acceptable for:** A parent to hit a child A teacher to hit a child A neighbour to hit a child A man to hit his wife/girlfriend A woman to hit her male partner A foreman to hit a worker A mother to hit a daughter-in-law Gangsters to hit each other A son to hit his mother A daughter to hit her mother A man to another of same age A man to hit an older man A man to hit women not related A woman to hit another not related Police to hit a criminal A man to hit younger siblings A woman to hit younger siblings People to hit a criminal	

*** Indicate low self-esteem responses.**

 # Indicate adherence to traditional gender role expectation.

3.7.5 Variables related to the men's partners

The respondents were asked to identify all partners with whom they had had meaningful relationships within the last 10 years. The 10-year period was chosen to improve recall. Meaningful relationships were identified as those in which the partners "**were married, have lived together, had a child together or went out for more than 1 month**". These could be both current and/or previous partners. The period of **ten years** was used to promote recall.

The 1368 men reported on 2056 partners. The men answered questions for each of the partners identified. These questions covered two areas: the demographic information for each partner and the way conflict was managed in each relationship. The latter set of questions was adapted from the Conflict Tactic Scale developed by Straus (1979) (Questionnaire attached as Appendix II).

3.7.5.1 Background information on the partners

Demographic questions about partners were included to determine the type and length of each of the relationships as well as the partner's age, work status and their earnings in relation to the respondents'. In addition, questions about number of children were included, as well as about the partner's use of alcohol and drugs and whether it created problems in the relationship. The operational definitions of these questions are shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Operational definitions of the partner variables

Variable	Definition	Scale
The type of relationship	• A positive response to whether it was a: ▸ wife ▸ girlfriend he lived with ▸ girlfriend he did not live with	
Length of relationship	• The length of the relationship was categorised into: ▸ < 1 year ▸ 1 - 4 years ▸ > 5 years	▸ < 1 year ▸ 1 - 4 years ▸ > 5 years
Age of partner	• Age of the partner categorised into ▸ older than him ▸ same age as him ▸ younger than him	▸ Older than him ▸ Same age as him ▸ Younger than him
Partner's educational level	• Educational level of partner was categorised into: ▸ more educated than him ▸ less educated than him ▸ same educational level as him	▸ More educated than him ▸ Less educated than him ▸ Same educational level as him

Variable	Definition	Scale
Partner's employment status	• Positive response to whether she worked	
Her earnings if she worked	• Earnings of the partner categorised into: ‣ more than him ‣ less than him ‣ same as him	‣ More than him ‣ Less than him ‣ Same as him
Children with partner Number of children	• Positive response to whether he had children with the partner • The number of children was categorised into: ‣ 2 or less ‣ 3 or more	
Partner's use of alcohol and drugs Whether partner's alcohol/drug use caused problems in the relationship	• Positive response to whether she used alcohol/drugs • Positive response to whether her alcohol/drug use created problems in the relationship	
If relationship was good	• Positive response to whether the relationship with the partner was good	
How often conflict occurred	• How often conflicts occurred between him and the partner were categorised into: ‣ daily ‣ weekly ‣ at least once a month ‣ seldom ‣ never	‣ Daily ‣ Weekly ‣ At least once a month ‣ Seldom ‣ Never
Reasons for conflict	• A positive response for each of the reasons categorised: ‣ household finances ‣ not performing expected roles ‣ when she is cheeky/ 'sits on his head' ‣ when she demands more time ‣ when he suspects her of infidelity ‣ when she suspects him of infidelity ‣ when she does not want to have sex ‣ his alcohol and drug use ‣ about in-laws ‣ other reasons (e.g. her alcohol use)	

3.7.6 Variables identifying use of violence against partners

A modified format of the CTS developed by Straus (1979) and later adapted (Straus *et. al.*1996) was used to ascertain the use of violence in the relationships. The original CTS was developed to identify family violence, i.e. including parent on child abuse. The scale lists a set of actions

which a person may use during conflict. The list commences with non-violent actions such as discussion of the problem, to violent behaviour such as assault with a weapon. One of its limitations is that it only identifies "*three modes of dealing with conflict*" (p. 77), i.e. reasoning, verbal aggression and the use of physical force, with the inclusion of emotional tactics as part of verbal aggression. In addition, it has been critiqued by feminist researchers for not taking into account the context and meaning of the acts of violence (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Despite its limitations, it is known to have a high reliability and construct validity, and many researchers have adapted it for use in gender violence research, including the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence (World Health Organisation1999a). A revised scale (CTS2) has been developed and its improvement includes better wording and clarity, differentiation between minor and severe levels and inclusion of some aspects of sexual violence (Straus *et. al.* 1996).

The current study, however, was based on the first version, and used a similar structured approach with adaptations incorporating questions relating to the female partners, and inclusion of questions separating the identification of emotional and economic abuse. The questions identifying the reasons for the conflict (shown in Table 3.5) preceded the questions about what happened during the conflict. This allowed for an easy flow to the interview, and was also considered less intrusive. Only the initial set of questions which referred to non-violent means of conflict management was arranged in order of severity. Those identifying physical and emotional violence were interspersed in terms of severity to prevent anticipatory answering by respondents. Sexual abuse was not included as part of the questions relating to conflict, and was asked about independently.

Operational definitions of the different types of abuse used in this study were based mainly on the literature and some input from the formative research. Physical abuse was the least difficult to define because it has received the most research attention and because it can be based on actions, e.g. pushing, smacking etc. In this study, included in the definition of physical abuse was reporting having hit a woman within the past year. This was asked about separately, after the question on responses to conflict. Economic abuse was based on responses to a single question, which was refusal to give the partner money for the running of the home.

As discussed earlier, no consistent definitions exist for either emotional or verbal abuse. A further obstacle for a study based on male accounts of violence was that most definitions of emotional abuse are based on women's feelings, and emotions such as fear, guilt and humiliation. For the purposes of this study it was decided to include only the abusive actions resulting in these feelings, which had been used by the many of researchers (Hegarty *et al.* 1999).

In addition, conflict tactics identified by the men during the formative work were added. For example, not eating the food that the women prepared and ignoring them *('to sit like a dummy")* were tactics used during conflict with their partners (see Appendix I). Although it can be argued that these tactics can be experienced as emotional abuse, they have not been cited in the literature except in work by Yoshihama (1999), where they were included as non-violent tactics.

Table 3.6: Items used to identify violence against intimate partners

Non-violent tactics Talked to her about the problem Asked someone else to help deal with the problem Ignored her Refused to eat her food Walked out of the house Stayed away a night or a weekend
Verbal abusive tactics Shouted at her Swore at her Called her rude and derogatory names
Emotional abusive tactics Threatened to leave the relationship Damaged valuables belonging to her Smashed or kicked an object Embarrassed her in front of her friends/family Evicted her from the house Threatened to hit her or to throw an object at her Threatened her with a weapon
Physical abusive tactics Grabbed and/or pushed her Threw an object at her Smacked her **Hit a partner in the last year**
Economic abusive tactic Refused to provide money for the running of the home
Sexual abuse Tried to force her to have sex Had forced sex with her

Table 3.6 shows the specific questions which were used to identify each type of abuse. A man was identified as an abuser if he answered positively to one or more of the items identifying a particular type of abuse for one or more of his partners (if more than one partner was reported). For example, if a man said he had smacked a partner he would be identified as a perpetrator of physical violence.

Questions which followed the identification of the abuse determined the severity of the abuse and the respondents were asked if a partner ever needed to see a doctor as a consequence of the violence. Finally the men were asked if the female partner had ever hit them.

3.8 Data collection

The data were collected through face-to-face interviews using a structured questionnaire. The interviews were conducted in the respondents' language of choice, i.e. Afrikaans, Xhosa or English by trained male interviewers (see training of fieldworkers later 3.12.2). On average an interview lasted 40 minutes. The majority of the fieldwork took place between June 1998 and February 1999. A break was taken between the middle of November 1997 and February 1998 to accommodate the December holiday season, when the municipality had a skeleton staff and emergency staff had to be on stand-by.

The interviews were conducted in private and a space suitable for this purpose had to be identified as part of the planning process.

3.9 Translation of questionnaire

Since the interviews took place in the respondent's preferred choice of language, the original English questionnaire had to be translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa. The translations were done by persons who had knowledge of the subject area and had research experience. The formative work was mainly conducted in Afrikaans and provided some guidance in the wording of the Afrikaans questionnaire. As a final check the translated questionnaires were compared again with the English questionnaire.

3.10 Pre-testing, reliability and validity

Overall validity and reliability of the instrument was ensured by careful attention to the

development of the questionnaire (discussed above), pre-testing of the instrument, piloting the study, and finally by continuous quality control during the field work.

3.10.1 Pre-testing

The pre-testing procedures used in this study concentrated on testing the acceptability of the questionnaire and its reliability. The Afrikaans questionnaire was administered by the researcher to five respondents (men working in the vicinity near the researcher) on two occasions separated by a week. On the first occasion, after the interview the respondents were asked to comment on the clarity and the acceptability of the questions as well as the way the interview flowed. In general the questions were well understood, but valuable comments were made on how to introduce the study. It was suggested that the study not be introduced as research on violence against women, but to stress that it was about men and their relationships. In addition, it was also found that it was important to remain neutral and non-judgemental when reports of abuse were given.

The same pre-testing procedures were done with the Xhosa questionnaire, with 3 men. Since the researcher did not do these interviews herself (not fluent in Xhosa), the process was audio-taped and translated into English, which was used as the feedback. A useful comment from the pre-testing of the Xhosa questionnaire was the difficulty in understanding a statement phrased in a negative way. For example, the statement *"When at work **you are not** satisfied with the person that you are"* had to be changed to " *When at work **you are** satisfied with the person that you are*".

The use of a matrix format to ask and record questions when more than one partner was identified was found to be acceptable by both interviewers and respondents (see questionnaire Appendix II and matrix format - Appendix III).

3.10.2 Reliability

Reliability of the questions (i.e. the consistency of the information attained) was tested by test-retest reliability studies, performed with comparison of the two questionnaires administered a week apart. Only one respondent gave a different response to a question which measured emotional abuse. This was considered a recall problem or a case of under-reporting during the

first interview. No other inconsistencies were found in either of the two languages groups. Further reliability was ensured by quality checks done during the collection of the data (see later Fieldwork management 3.12.3).

3.10.3 Validity

The study needed to ensure a high level of validity so that it measured what it intended to. A number of measures were to ensure consensual validity. The variables used in the study were based on previous research on gender violence. These included the South African Three Province study (Jewkes *et al.* 2001a), the Zimbabwean study (Watts *et al.* 1998) and incorporating lessons learned from IRNVAW members. In addition, the study protocol and questionnaire were presented to experts in the field at a meeting at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and had undergone two independent protocol review processes (Public Health Sciences Faculty of Cape Town University and review board of the Centre for Epidemiological Research of Southern Africa of the MRC). Furthermore, content validity was improved by incorporating the results from the qualitative study and having response categories which were inclusive of the range of experiences and perceptions discussed by the men. An indication of the validity of the questionnaire was that not many 'don't know' categories were used (indicating the face validity of the variables). Construct validity was also evident in the overlap between categories such as education level and job categories, and between reporting abuse and accepting that abuse is justifiable.

3.11 Pilot study

Before the pilot study, changes indicated by the pre-testing were carried out followed by a final re-checking of the translated questionnaires with the English version. This study had two pilots. An initial pilot study was undertaken with ten respondents from the study site at which the qualitative study was done (none of the participants of the qualitative study were included). The study at the food chain store was only considered a pilot when it was discovered during data collection that the sample size would not be adequate. Both these pilots allowed for the testing of the sampling and fieldwork logistics including when and where the interviews took place, duration of the interview, data coding, data management and initial analysis. The second pilot in particular allowed the fieldworkers to gain excellent experience in the conducting of the interviews and helped in the understanding of the process of setting up the interviews. Finally,

the analysis and the presentation of the data from the two pilot sites were very useful in the setting up of data screens for data entry and initial plans for analysis.

3.12 Fieldwork

3.12.1 Fieldworkers

Although the researcher conducted most of the pre-testing, where possible men were employed to conduct the interviews since it was thought that the respondents would find it easier to talk to another man about their violent behaviour. The fieldworkers had to represent the racial and the language distribution of the sample, and it was expected that the majority of the interviews would be conducted in Afrikaans and Xhosa. Finding male fieldworkers was not easy, and the initial recruiting process was to ask other research colleagues to recommend male fieldworkers they had worked with before. An initial group of fieldworkers was recruited (2 Coloured; 2 White). They had just completed studies and were looking for employment. Their background was in psychology, sociology and education. Three eventually found full-time work during the fieldwork (1 worked as a psychologist in a prison, 1 in a community mental health service and the third as a social worker at a children's home). It was not easy to replace them, and 2 continued to conduct interviews whenever possible, taking time off work because they found it 'fascinating to talk to men about their use of violence'. The fourth one continued with the study until completion of the fieldwork.

Finally 3 Xhosa-speaking fieldworkers were recruited. One was a final-year sociology student who worked part-time at the Tygerberg municipality, the second fieldworker was recruited from an NGO that worked with men on violence against women, and the third was recruited together with three Coloured fieldworkers from an NGO that worked mainly with young men. Their ages ranged between 24 and 30 years and they stayed with the study until its completion.

Where possible , the interviewers were matched to the respondent for race and language (this was not always possible). On a few occasions the researcher herself had to conduct interviews, but no difference in the rate of reporting abuse was found between her and the male interviewers. On a few occasions 'across race' interviews had to be conducted, i.e. a White interviewer conducting an interview with a Coloured respondent, and again there was no difference in the rate of

reporting abuse. The preferred language of the respondent was accommodated at all times.

The importance of the selection of the interviewers was stressed both during discussions with experts working on the WHO multi-country study on Domestic Violence and during presentations given at the 1998 conference organised by International Research Network on Violence Against Women (IRNVAW 1998). Although guidance in the selection of interviewers was mainly given in relation to studies with women, many similarities could be applied to male interviewers for the research with men on the issue of intimate partner violence. Important factors in selection were whether they held strong personal views on patriarchy and their sensitivity to gender issues. Other important qualities required were non-judgemental attitudes, maturity, ability to work in a team and being skilled in developing a rapport with people. Some of these qualities were already apparent in the men who had sociology and psychology training. All the men were told of the importance of these qualities at the beginning of their training, and that the final selection of the fieldworkers would only be done after training and once they were tested in the field.

3.12.2 Field worker training

The fieldworkers had a 2-day training workshop. The workshop introduced them to the objectives of the study and included, orientation to the topic of gender violence, concepts of scientific research, how data will be used, the importance of data quality, getting to know the questionnaire and the development of interviewing skills. An interviewer's guide was developed to which the interviewers could refer during the fieldwork.

Training was based on the guidelines given by experts, as well as on experiences documented by researchers in the IRNVAW group (IRNVAW 1998). An important aspect of the training consisted of the interviewers dealing with their own perceptions and attitudes to women and violence. These sessions were conducted by Charles Maisel from the Five in Six Project (a project which works with men on gender violence). In this session (the researcher as a woman did not participate) the men were asked to reflect on their own personal perceptions of what it is to be a man and their use of violence.

The importance of developing rapport and trust during the interview, particularly for studies covering sensitive issues, has been highlighted by other researchers in the field. Its influence on

the quality of the data and the levels of reporting of violence has also been stressed (World Health Organisation 1999b). The training included the development of these interviewing skills and focussed on promotion of a safe, non-judgemental environment during the interview.

During the collection of data, the impact of the fieldwork on the interviewers became obvious. This was due to the build-up of stress related to listening to and dealing with the respondents' violence. Prior to this study members of IRNVAW (1998) warned about the potential burn-out of fieldworkers, and although this related to female interviewers it became obvious that it was an issue for male interviewers as well. For them stress was caused by both listening to the stories of violence used against the partner as well as dealing with respondents who became emotional during the interviews. An increase in stress was particularly noticed when the number of interviews increased from the norm of 6-7 per day.

A support system was set up which allowed the field workers to talk about their feelings (even though confidentiality was also considered important). Friday afternoons was the time set aside for the them to discuss their experiences (if they wanted to). Many times they just discussed their feelings with the researcher when travelling to and from the field sites. On two occasions stress levels were particularly high and debriefing sessions with Charles Maisel (with whom they had the initial session during the training) were arranged to help them deal with and understand their feelings.

3.12.3 Fieldwork management

The logistics of the setting up of the interviews had to be well planned to accommodate the working environment in which the fieldwork took place. Meetings were set up to introduce the study and the planning was done in conjunction with shop stewards and management. The men's anxiety about the study being linked to management was allayed by having the union shop stewards as part of the team. The setting up of the fieldwork at each of the depots had to be negotiated, since the situations varied. For example, at some of the depots work started at 05h00 and the men were not keen to stay after work for the interviews. At this depot the interviews had to be conducted before 05h00. In addition, the race of the respondent had to be identified so that interviewers could be matched with the respondents for race and language, and a private space

for the interviews had to be negotiated.

The nature of their work required the men to work in teams of 4 or more. The functioning of the whole team was therefore affected if a member had to be interviewed. The best times and best days for interviews had to be negotiated with the supervisors. The days avoided were pay days, when most of the workers work half-day and Mondays which had a high absenteeism rate.

An example of the planning process for conducting the interviews at the Tygerberg municipality follows. The sample drawn indicated the name, division (i.e. cleansing, electrical etc.) and the depot (usually geographically based, i.e. Elsies River, Khayelitsha). The sample was first divided into the various divisions and then further subdivided into the geographical depots. One division was interviewed at a time. Meetings were held with each of the division heads to tell them how many names were drawn from their division and also which depots were involved. They informed the depots about the study and detailed planning followed with the depot management and the shop stewards of the two unions. The names of the sample drawn at each of the depots had to be shared at this stage, and the need to maintain confidentiality was stressed. Depending on the number of names and the expected language requirements drawn for each of the depots, a roster was developed allocating names to days and fieldworkers (the depot manager and the shop steward were able to indicate the language requirements for the names drawn). At the same time the shop stewards informed the workers about the study at the daily assembly meeting (usually before setting off to work). They told workers that some of them had been chosen to participate in the study and would be informed further about the study by the fieldworkers. This was an important part of the process since it was a concern that the response rate and quality of data would be affected if the fieldworkers were seen as associated with the management.

Daily planning had to be done to maintain a continuous flow of interviews and to ensure minimal disruption to service.

3.12.4 Fieldwork supervision

A field supervisor was present throughout the fieldwork and was responsible for the management of the fieldwork, which included planning, processing and quality control (mainly carried out by the researcher, except during the period when she was on maternity leave, when supervision was undertaken by a co-worker). Completed questionnaires were checked at the field site for errors and completion, and incongruent results were verified and corrected immediately. Coding of the questionnaires was completed by the supervisor in the field.

Quality checks included monitoring of the response rate, levels of abuse reported and the quality of data in general for each fieldworker. These results were discussed at the Friday sessions. A second process of quality control was the random repeating of part of the interview by the supervisor for at least 10% of the daily interviews. This had to be done on the same day to overcome logistical problems. The supervisor randomly chose a name from completed interviews and asked the respondent if she could repeat part of the interview. This questionnaire included, among others, questions about age, occupation, alcohol use and number of meaningful partners. The two sets of answers were checked for consistency, and should differences have been noticed it would have been discussed with the fieldworker concerned. No inconsistencies were found in any of the repeat quality checks.

3.13 Statistical methods and analysis

The coded data were entered onto the computer by a data puncher. Data management was done by the researcher with some input from a statistician using SAS 6 software. The data were cleaned by examining the frequency distributions from the printouts for outlying and incongruent data. If an error was located the relevant questionnaire was located to cross-check the raw data with the printouts.

The researcher did the data analysis using Stata 6 software. Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses were used.

3.13.1 Descriptive analysis

Exploratory analysis was done to describe the socio-demographic and risk profile of the three

separate samples using frequency distributions. It was important to examine the differences in the proportions between the sample groups since these differences may have influenced further analysis. These are presented in Chapter 4.

3.13.2 Prevalence estimates

The prevalence of the dependent variables, i.e. physical, current physical and sexual abuse, was estimated with 95% confidence. In addition, prevalence estimates of specific socio-demographic variables were also done. Although prevalence estimates of emotional, verbal and economic abuse was also calculated, further analysis was not continued because of limitations posed by the definitions of these types of abuse.

Cross-tabulations were used to explore whether there were significant differences in socio-demographic profile between men reporting abuse (physical and sexual) and men not reporting abuse (Pearson Chi-Square test). Similarly, trend analysis using a non-parametric test (Cuzick) was done for the variables which were ordinally categorised, e.g. age (Stata Reference Manual 1999). These findings are presented in Chapter 5.

3.13.3 Testing the validity of scales

The internal consistency of two scales, use of violence in various scenarios and views on gender roles in relationships, was tested and a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.75 and 0.71 were found respectively. Modification was not required and further factor analysis was not planned for these two scales. The third scale, measuring self-esteem, had an unsatisfactorily low Cronbach's alpha coefficient (0.19 for self-esteem measured in relation to the home and 0.15 for self-esteem in relation to work), and it was decided not to use this group of questions as a composite scale but as individual variables. The poor alpha score confirmed reports from fieldworkers, who related that the men appeared to have the most problems with answering this set of questions. A possible explanation for their difficulty could be because these questions enquire about their feelings, and discussing feelings is not considered an acceptable masculine trait.

3.13.4 Risk factor analysis

Unadjusted risk difference estimates and confidence intervals were calculated for reporting abuse (physical and sexual) for the various risk factor variables. Logistic regression analysis was used to determine the univariate odds ratio which was used as an estimate of the relative risk. The parameter estimates further used 95% Confidence Intervals (CI) at the 0.05 level of significance (5% probability of making an error). An odds ratio of 1 indicates no difference between those reporting violence and not reporting use of violence, while >1 indicates a positive association with the violence and thus an increase in risk of use of violence. While <1 indicates a negative association with the use of violence and therefore a decrease in the risk of reporting it. This process assisted in the identification of risk factors for inclusion in the multiple logistic regression analysis.

3.13.5 Multiple logistic regression

A multiple logistic regression analysis was used to determine the risk factors (independent variables) which best predicted the occurrence of physical and sexual violence (dependent variables) in this sample (Rothman and Greenland 1998). The binary data were all coded with 0 indicating a negative outcome and 1 indicating a positive result. Continuous variables and those with more than 1 level of categories were entered as ordinal data and a reference level was chosen. For the variable 'race' in this process Coloured and Indian men were combined because of the small number of Indian men in the sample and because of the similarities between the two groups.

A variable selection procedure using a backward stepwise elimination regression analysis was used. The Stata logistic command rather than the logit command was used since it gives the odds ratio while the latter estimates the coefficients (Stata Reference Manual 1999). The Stata default level of 95% confidence intervals for the risk difference was used.

The model building process started firstly with the division of the risk factors into three groups, i.e. socio-demographic variables, socio-cultural variables, and variables related to individual behaviours. The models were then built in three phases with the socio-demographic variables being the first; the socio-cultural variables were added to form the second model and finally the variables relating to individual behaviours were added to form the final model.

At the start of the model building process potential confounders were first tested to determine whether they made a significant contribution to the prediction of abuse. The three variables race, educational level and job category were considered as potential confounders. Each of these variables was compared with a baseline model (i.e. only the constant) and its significance was tested by assessing the reduction in the deviance (at the 0.05 level). The three variables were found to make an important contribution to the model and had to remain. In addition, in the estimating of odds ratios, multiple logistic regression analyses automatically adjust for all the other variables in the model thus controlling for possible confounders.

The inclusion of risk factors into the logistic model were based on two criteria. Firstly, factors theoretically considered as important for reporting abuse were not excluded even though the crude odds ratio was not significant at the 0.05 level. Secondly, all risk factors which were significant at the unadjusted level were included. Colinear variables were also avoided and choices of these variable inclusions were based on the strength of the risk difference.

Model building then commenced, with the initial addition of all the variables into the equation (i.e. all the socio-demographic variables). After the model was fitted, the least significant variable was removed (variable with the highest *P*-value). If a variable had more than one level, e.g. age, then the significance of all the levels was tested together. The regression equation was refitted after the variable was removed and this process of variable elimination continued until the final model, which best predicted the risk of reporting abuse was attained. The final model thus had the remaining explanatory variables with odds ratios significant at the 0.05 level or less. A model with variables significant at the 0.10 level was also fitted, but very little difference was found in the deviance from the model fitted at the 0.05 significance, and the latter was considered as the best model.

Two procedures were used to assess the goodness of fit of the models. Firstly, the Pearson Chi-square goodness of-fit statistic of the model was assessed, with a large chi-square indicating a poor fit. A second process was to examine the maximum likelihood estimates (log likelihood ratio test) of the current model against the previous model (without the added explanatory variable). A reduction in the deviance which is the difference between the two estimates indicated that the added variable made an important contribution to the model and must remain.

3.14 Ethical considerations

This study applied the guidelines developed by the WHO for their multi-country study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence on the ethics and safety of doing studies on violence against women. These guidelines were developed from the combined experiences of researchers doing surveys among women. Although most of the guidelines ensured the safety of women, many could also be applied to male respondents (World Health Organisation 1998).

Ethical permission by the Medical Research Council's ethics committee was granted. The study protocol was also approved by the University of Cape Town's Health Sciences Faculty ethics committee.

Since the study area was very sensitive, care was taken to introduce the study in a sensitive way and not to judge the men as they related their stories. It was believed that this would encourage disclosure. The questionnaire was also developed to lead into the topic sensitively. Some of the men became distressed during the interviews. This was most evident when the men were asked about their childhood, e.g. fathers' presence and witnessing their mother's abuse. During the training the interviewers were told to stop the interview in such instances, support the men and only continue with the interview if the men recovered adequately. As with women's studies, this study also found that some of the men found talking about their childhood or their relationships a helpful process. They were allowed to talk without being judged.

3.14.1 Consent procedures

Participation in the study was voluntary, and the respondents were told as part of the consent procedure that they could terminate the interview at any time they wished. Oral consent was obtained since many South Africans are not keen on signing documents, and this was an added safety feature to maintain confidentiality. The men were not told explicitly that the study was about their use of violence since it was a concern that it might increase non-response. They were told that the study was about their life experiences in the community, work and home. A formal oral consent procedure was developed and the fieldworker had to sign it at the end to confirm that the process was followed and whether permission was granted to do the interview. Interviews were conducted in private and if interrupted the fieldworkers were told to stop the interview until it was safe to continue.

3.14.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was ensured as part of the consent procedure and fieldworkers were given training on the importance of confidentiality. They were also warned not to do interviews with men that they knew. Although names were required as part of the planning of the interviews, they were not recorded on the questionnaire. At the beginning of the study the management of the municipalities were promised that the municipalities would not be identified during the presentation of the findings. However, after a press release of the findings, a media leakage resulted in their names (the municipalities) being printed in a newspaper article, which created some embarrassment for the management of one of the municipalities. This was, however, resolved.

The respondents were very concerned about the confidentiality of the interviews. They feared that since management was involved in the study (helping in setting it up) they would be told the content of the interviews. They were particularly concerned about the question which enquired about fights at work as they feared that this information could be used against them in disciplinary hearings. Having the unions involved, seeing management also being interviewed and being reassured that the study was independent of management reassured the workers.

3.14.3 Support to fieldworkers

The effect of the interviews was evident for most of the male interviewers, with some reporting being distressed and frustrated. Despite them being able to distance themselves from the men's stories at the beginning, it was evident they required help as the study progressed. They reported that they found listening to reports of the abuse without being able to make judgements most distressing. Weekly sessions were arranged for the fieldworkers to discuss their feelings and they were allowed to talk about the interviews. This was not considered as breaching the confidentiality of the respondents but as a mechanism to prevent these feelings from impacting on their interviewing abilities. A session was arranged with Charles Maisel who had acted as a mentor during their training and he helped them to deal with their feelings and emotions.

3.14.4 Support to respondents

The experiences of studies with women have been to end the interview on a positive note and to

followed at the end of the interviews with the men but information was not provided to all the men. Based on the fieldworker's interpretation of whether a respondent was an abuser, he was asked whether he wanted assistance and only if he said he thought he required help was he given the contact details of an agency that provides services to abusers. It was felt that the men who did not think they had a problem may have felt judged if they were given this information.

3.15 Under-and over-reporting

It is well documented by researchers that investigate violence against women that the prevalence of reporting abuse by respondents (mainly women) represents the lower-end estimates of the true prevalence (Heise *et al.* 1999). In this study the researcher was aware of the potential of under-reporting taking place. For example, abuse could only be established if men reported having a partner and respondents could deliberately not reported having partners or not reported having partners with whom they had violent relationships. Secondly, the respondents could also have decreased reporting of the levels of conflicts with their female partners, which was the variable through which the abuse was identified in this study. Lastly, the effect of social desirability response bias could have influenced the respondents to answer what they considered in a socially acceptable way.

From research among women it has been suggested that fieldworkers when burnt out may deliberately or subconsciously interview in such a way that women do not report abuse, which is a way of protecting themselves against having to engage with the women's stories. In this study the number of partners reported could have created similar problems, since questions had to be asked regarding each partner. Support for the fieldworkers and quality checks were the way in which this was controlled for.

The potential for over-reporting was a factor identified in the formative qualitative study. During these sessions it became evident that some men boasted about their use of violence and perceived it as an indication of their maleness. The issue of boasting was dealt with during the training of the fieldworkers. During the fieldwork they reported that since the interviews were one-to-one sessions the men generally did not boast about their use of violence. In general they felt that most men were honest but reported that they suspected some men of "holding back" information during the interviews.

the interviews.

3.16 The role of the author

The author (Naeemah Abrahams) was the principle investigator for the study. She wrote the protocol, planned, implemented and co-ordinated the fieldwork. She coded the data which was put onto a computer by data punchers working at the Medical Research Council. The initial data management and data cleaning was done with support from a statistician working in the Biostatistic unit at the Medical Research Council. All of the data analysis was done by her with guidance from supervisors and Dr Carl Lombard, a senior biostatistician at the Medical Research Council.

3.17 Limitations of the methodology

The limitations in the study methods were mainly associated with choice of the sample. Firstly, the respondents were all workers, which does not allow the study to generalise to unemployed men. The sample was drawn from different work-sites with different sample frames, which resulted in three separate study populations. The sample is therefore not representative of all the men working at the study sites. In addition, the nature of the work at the municipalities was mainly unskilled, and the sample was not stratified for job level. Similarly, no stratification was done for race. The study also only asked about partners within the last 10 years, while most studies with women reported lifetime prevalence ('ever' abuse). A further limitation was the cross-sectional nature of the study, which only allowed for analysis of associations but not for causation. Finally, the lack of association between abuse and risk factors found in the study for current physical and sexual violence may be due to the smaller sample size for these two types of abuse.

This study has highlighted the difficulty in accessing male respondents in the South African setting. This poses methodological challenges for researchers who want to do similar work.

Chapter 4

Socio-demographic and risk factor profiles of the male respondents and their female partners

4.1 Introduction

The results for the three municipalities, i.e. Tygerberg, Oostenberg and Cape Town are shown separately which allows for comparison among the three groups. The results are mainly shown in the form of frequency and proportions.

4.2 Socio-demographic profile of the male respondents

4.2.1 Racial distribution

Race was based on interviewer observation rather than asking respondents to which race they belong, and is presented in Table 4.1. Races were not evenly distributed. Coloured men formed the majority and Asian men the smallest proportion of the three groups.

Table 4.1: Racial distribution of the men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1 368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
African	204 (39.0)	45 (12.0)	101 (21.4)	**350 (25.6)**
White	37 (7.1)	60 (16.1)	21 (4.5)	**118 (8.6)**
Coloured	275 (52.6)	269 (71.9)	335 (71.1)	**879 (64.3)**
Asian	7 (1.4)	0	14 (3.0)	**21 (1.5)**

The distribution is similar to the general racial distribution of the Western Cape Province (Statistics South Africa 1998). In addition, the racial distribution also followed that of the residential population, with more African respondents in the Tygerberg sample (39%) compared to the Oostenberg sample (12.1%), and more White respondents in the Oostenberg sample (16.1%) compared to the Cape Town sample (4.5%). The differences in the racial distribution

between the samples can be partly explained by the sampling method, i.e. the Oostenberg sample was drawn from all the male workers and had a greater chance of including a larger proportion of senior and therefore White workers, compared to the Tygerberg and Cape Town municipalities where the sample was limited to only two divisions. The larger proportion of African respondents in the Tygerberg sample could be due to the Municipal Policy to draw workers from its residential population (Mr J Henn- personal communication). However, the greatest influence on the racial profile of the Western Cape Province is the historical policy of Coloured preferential residents and workers enacted by the Apartheid government since the 1960s. These racially segregated development and labour policies prevented the settlement of Africans in the Western Cape, and is illustrated by the racial profile of the residential population for each of the three municipalities, presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Racial distribution of the residential population for the three municipalities and the Western Cape Province

Variable	Tygerberg %	Oostenberg %	Cape Town %	Western Cape Province %
African	34.8	12.4	31.0	**20.9**
White	22.3	21.3	12.4	**20.8**
Coloured	40.1	59.8	50.2	**54.2**
Asian	0.8	0.3	2.2	**1.0**
Unspecified	1.9	6.2	4.1	**3.1**

Adapted from Statistics South Africa 1998.

4.2.2 Age distribution

The age distributions for the three population samples are summarised in Table 4.3. The ages did not differ much across the three sample populations, with all the mean ages falling within the late thirties. The youngest age reported was 20 years and the oldest was 76. The Oostenberg respondents had the lowest mean age while those from Tygerberg had the highest.

Table 4.3: Age profile of the men in the three municipalities (n = 1365)*

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total n = 1365
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
20 - 29	97 (18.6)	101 (27.3)	84 (18.1)	**284 (20.8)**
30 - 39	180 (34.5)	141 (38.2)	180 (38.4)	**503 (36.8)**
40 - 49	137 (26.2)	75 (19.5)	124 (26.5)	**334 (24.5)**
50 - 59	87 (16.7)	47 (12.6)	70 (14.9)	**204 (15.0)**
60+	22 (4.0)	9 (2.4)	12 (2.1)	**40 (2.9)**
Range	20 - 76	20 - 64	20 - 66	**20 - 76**
Median	38	35	38	**37**
Mean	39.9	37.1	39.1	**38.9**
Std. Dev.	10.8	10.1	9.7	**10.3**

* Missing data for 3 respondents.

4.2.3 Educational level

Most of the respondents across the three municipalities reported having some education (Table 4.4). Differences in the levels of education were evident. The respondents from Tygerberg had the lowest education levels with 8% reporting not having had any schooling, and only 14% reporting post-school leaving training.

Table 4.4: Frequency distribution of educational profile for men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n - 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 470	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
No schooling	42 (8.0)	18 (4.8)	22 (4.7)	**82 (6.0)**
Grade 1 - Grade 7	187 (35.8)	79 (21.2)	132 (28.0)	**398 (29.1)**
Grade 8 - Grade 10	187 (35.8)	122 (32.6)	195 (41.4)	**504 (36.8)**
Grade11 - Grade 12	107 (20.5)	155 (41.5)	122 (25.9)	**384 (28.1)**
Post-school leaving training	73 (14.0)	91 (24.3)	83 (17.6)	**247 (18.1)**

In contrast, the Oostenberg sample reported higher levels of education, with more than 40% of the respondents reporting having completed between Grade 10 and Matric, and nearly a quarter

of the men reporting post-school leaving training. These educational differences in the samples correspond with the racial profiles discussed earlier, and confirm the close relationship between race and educational levels in South Africa. These findings are also comparable with National Census data for the Western Cape Province in which 7.1% of the males over the age of 20 years reported not having any schooling (Statistics South Africa 1998).

4.2.4 Socio-economic status

Table 4.5 shows the socio-economic status of the three samples. Since there is no single variable which perfectly indicates socio-economic status, a number of indicators including salary, type of work, type of home in which they live, ownership of home, ownership of households items and an index of overcrowding (number of persons divided by number of rooms used for sleeping) were used to describe the social status of the respondents. A selection of these variables is commonly used in various combinations in South Africa (Department of Health 2002, Jewkes *et al.* 2001a), as well as in international studies of violence against women (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a, Ahuja *et al.* 2000, Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Martin *et al.* 1999a).

The reliability of reporting salary in research studies is known to be problematic. Although the overwhelming majority of respondents reported earning less than R3 000 per month, it was apparent that salary structures across the three municipalities were not uniform and did not follow a normal distribution. As expected, the Tygerberg respondents reported the lowest income (median R1 400 mean R1 665) while Oostenberg reported the highest (median R2 095 mean R2 672). Most of the differences in the salaries can be explained by the differences in the sample used. The Oostenberg sample was taken from all the male workers in the municipality and thus had a greater chance of including White or skilled and professional workers. In comparison, the other two samples were drawn from only two divisions in the municipalities. The nature of the work within these two divisions required mainly unskilled or semi-skilled workers. These differences suggest an association between income, race and education in South Africa. In addition, during discussions with SAMWU members, Tygerberg was said to be the municipality whose salary structure lagged behind the most, i.e. their workers were paid less than the other municipalities. These salary differences were one of the many issues dealt with during the formation of the Unicity in November 2000.

It was therefore expected that the occupational category should reflect the salary profiles. The occupational categories were based on the type of work the respondents reported they did and the sample reflected the overall profile of the work categories for the three municipalities (communication with the Human Resources Departments of the municipalities). Differences were evident among the three municipalities and reflected the earlier pattern found. The highest proportion of unskilled workers (60.4%) was reported at Tygerberg, and more skilled workers were reported by Oostenberg (35.6%) compared to Tygerberg (20.7%) and Cape Town (22.9%). Surprisingly, the least difference was found in the highest occupational category (professional), which was almost equally distributed among the three municipalities at about 5%.

Table 4.5: Frequency distributions of income and occupational categories of the men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Salary per month:				
< R1000	89 (17.0)	9 (2.4)	31 (6.6)	**129 (9.4)**
R1000-R1999	313 (59.8)	89 (23.8)	177 (37.6)	**578 (42.1)**
R2000-R2999	76 (14.5)	174 (46.5)	191 (40.6)	**440 (32.2)**
R3000-R3999	22 (4.2)	40 (10.7)	25 (5.3)	**87 (6.4)**
R4000-R4999	4 (0.8)	18 (4.8)	16 (3.4)	**38 (2.8)**
≥ R5 000	19 (3.6)	44 (11.8)	31 (6.6)	**94 (6.8)**
Median	R1 400	R2 095	R2 000	**R1 800**
Mean	R1 665	R2 672	R2 189	**R2 119**
Std. Dev.	R1 218	R1 655	R1 460	**R1 486**
Occupational categories				
Professional	23 (4.4)	19 (5.1)	21 (4.5)	**63 (4.6)**
Skilled	108 (20.7)	133 (35.6)	108 (22.9)	**349 (25.5)**
Semi-skilled	76 (14.5)	45 (12.0)	92 (19.5)	**213 (15.6)**
Unskilled	316 (60.4)	177 (47.3)	250 (53.1)	**743 (54.3)**

Household data are presented in Table 4.6. National data on informal housing (shacks/rooms in backyards) were recalculated from statistical reports (Statistics South Africa 1998) and indicate that informal housing constitutes 19.8% of Western Cape and 21.3% of national household dwellings. Since the study population was workers with regular incomes, it was expected that the proportion of informal housing would be less than the Provincial figure. This was found in the case of both Oostenberg (12.0%) and Cape Town (11.5%), which had similar proportions.

However, respondents from Tygerberg, had nearly three times more informal dwellings (27.9%) compared to the other two municipalities.

Table 4.6: Frequency distributions of household characteristics and ownership of items for the men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Type of dwelling *				
Formal (house/flat)	372 (71.1)	326 (87.2)	408 (86.6)	**1106 (80.9)**
Informal (backroom/shack)	146 (27.9)	45 (12.0)	54 (11.5)	**245 (17.9)**
Household density*				
2 or fewer persons per room	286 (54.7)	246 (65.8)	279 (59.2)	**811 (59.3)**
Between 3 - 4 per room	212 (40.5)	119 (31.8)	170 (36.1)	**501 (36.6)**
More than 4 per room	22 (4.2)	6 (1.6)	19 (4.0)	**47 (3.4**
Ownership of home				
Self	367 (70.2)	259 (69.3)	342 (72.6)	**968 (70.8)**
Wives /girlfriend	10 (1.9)	2 (0.5)	6 (1.3)	**18 (1.3)**
Others	146 (27.9)	113 (30.2)	123 (26.1)	**382 (27.9)**
Ownership of household items **				
Television	371 (70.9)	304 (81.5)	368 (78.1)	**1043 (76.3)**
Washing machine	205 (39.2)	220 (59.0)	284 (60.3)	**709 (51.9)**
Microwave-oven	106 (20.3)	121 (32.5)	137 (29.1)	**364 (26.6)**
Home telephone	208 (39.8)	210 (56.3)	264 (56.1)	**682 (49.9)**
Car	139 (26.6)	150 (40.2)	147 (31.2)	**436 (31.9)**

* Data does not add up to 100% because of missing data.
** Data does not add up to 100% because of multiple responses.

The close similarities between Oostenberg and Cape Town were surprising - it was expected that Oostenberg with a higher socio-economic status would have a much higher proportion of formal housing. This suggests other influencing factors, of which the most likely is the historical under-development of the traditional Coloured and African communities, which created a serious shortage of houses in the Western Cape. It is most likely that both Tygerberg and Oostenberg respondents are from such communities, in which many informal settlements have appeared within the last 2 decades. Only since 1994 have these communities been given serious attention with recent sub-economic housing developments in areas such as Delft, Wallacedene and Khayelitsha (Tygerberg Municipality 1998).

Household density was not evenly distributed among the three municipalities. It was measured

by dividing the total number of people (each adult and each child calculated as one person) in the household by the total number of rooms used for sleeping. Oostenberg had the least dense households, with 66.8% of the respondents living in household in which 2 or fewer people shared a room for sleeping. There were some similarities between Tygerberg and Cape Town, with 40% of Tygerberg and 36% of Cape Town respondents reporting living in households in which more than 2 people shared a room. Extreme overcrowding (i.e. more than 4 people per room used for sleeping) was also reported by both these municipalities (Tygerberg 4.2% and Cape Town 4.1%).

There were no huge differences in the profile of home ownership for the three municipalities. The slight differences were, however, not in keeping with the trends of data described previously. Tygerberg, which has been shown to have a lower socio-economic status, had a slightly higher home ownership than Oostenberg. Those from Oostenberg were also more likely to report living in homes which belonged to others. These differences might have been influenced by more than one factor. Firstly, the Tygerberg respondents were older and therefore more likely to own homes compared to the younger Oostenberg respondents. Secondly, socio-cultural factors associated with home ownership could have influenced it. For example, ownership of a home for the African population in Cape Town often means ownership of a shack in an informal settlement. Significant differences were found for type of dwelling for the race groups ($P<0.0001$). More than 57% of all the African men lived in informal housing while this was below 1% for White men and 5.7% for Coloured/Asian men. In addition for the White population who do not own their own home-renting a formal house would be a more likely option.

Ownership of household items showed that respondents from the Oostenberg municipality reported a greater proportion of ownership of all the items measured, and Tygerberg reported the least ownership of all the items. Across the three municipalities, television sets were the most common and microwave ovens the least common household item owned. Oostenberg and Cape Town had similar proportions of ownership for washing machines and telephones, with car ownership being the highest for Oostenberg.

4.3 Childhood experiences

In Table 4.7 findings on the men's childhood experiences are shown. The profiles of the respondents do not differ a great deal across the three samples. The term *"head of household"* was described during the earlier qualitative study as the person (usually man) in *"authority"* of the household (Appendix I). This referred particularly to the role of breadwinner, control of finances and the making of decisions and rules. The term *"to sit on a man's head"* was used in the same discussions to describe the role women took when they failed to acknowledge the man's authority.

Table 4.7: Frequency distribution of the men's childhood experiences for the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Raised by:				
Both parents	355 (67.9)	278 (74.5)	330 (70.2)	**963 (70.5)**
Female-headed household (mother/grandmother)	122 (23.3)	75 (20.1)	111 (23.6)	**308 (22.5)**
Foster-care/adopted/place of safety/orphanage	46 (8.8)	20 (5.4)	29 (6.2)	**95 (6.9)**
Father had no interest in him	42 (8.0)	24 (6.4)	22 (4.7)	**88 (6.4)**
Never seen father	92 (17.6)	54 (14.4)	88 (18.7)	**234 (17.1)**
Received hidings as a child	448 (86.0)	338 (90.7)	397 (84.6)	**1183 (86.9)**
Regular hidings (daily/weekly)	71 (13.6)	63 (16.8)	61 (12.9)	**195 (14.3)**
Father was head of home	310 (59.3)	251 (67.1)	306 (65.0)	**867 (63.4)**
Witnessed mother's abuse	118 (22.6)	80 (21.4)	124 (26.3)	**322 (23.5)**
Witnessed it more than once	82 (69.5)	57 (71.2)	91 (73.4)	**230 (71.4)**

The majority of the respondents said their fathers were the head of the household during their childhood, which could imply being raised in households in which fathers were dominant. Although the majority of the men were raised in households with both parents present, nearly a quarter (22.5%) were raised in a female-headed household. One in every six respondents (17.1%) reported never having seen their father and 6.4% of those who had lived with or had contact with their fathers said that their fathers did not show an interest in them. No conclusive evidence exists on the effect of absent fathers or the presence of a dominant father during childhood on the

development of sexual identity. Recent interest in this work was highlighted by a paper on fatherhood in South Africa (Esack 1999), but generally this area has largely been neglected. The absence of research on the gender socialisation of men in terms of violence in general and particularly gender violence and masculinities have also been recognised internationally (García-Moreno 1999, Barker 2000).

A similar proportion of men across the three municipalities reporting witnessing their mother being hit by a father or her boyfriend during childhood. The findings showed that nearly one in every four respondents witnesses such an incident. Most disturbing is that the overwhelming majority (71.4%) witnessed this more than once.

Although this study did not identify experiences of child abuse, the use of physical punishment as a form of discipline during childhood was found to be very common, with very little difference between the three groups. The overwhelming majority of men (86.9%) received hidings as a child, and nearly 15% received daily or weekly hidings (physical punishment or hidings in this study refer to beatings with the hand or with a weapon and could range from a single smack to more severe physical discipline). Similar high levels of physical punishment by boys in their homes have been reported in Brazil and it has been suggested that these experiences of violence during childhood may lead men into subsequent use of violence as adults (Barker 2000).

4.4 Risk behaviour profiles in the three municipalities

The frequencies of risk taking behaviour which may have an impact on the men's use of violence follows. These risks include the men's childhood experiences, use of alcohol and drugs, involvement in interpersonal violence and criminal activities.

4.4.1 Alcohol and drug use

In Table 4.8 more than half of the respondents reported the current use of alcohol, with Oostenberg reporting the highest (67.4%) and Cape Town the lowest current use (50.3%). The drinking patterns of the three groups differed only slightly. Overall, a similar pattern of mainly weekend drinking was reported, with Oostenberg respondents reporting a slightly higher proportion of frequent drinking. It was not surprising that this group also reported the highest

proportion of problems associated with their drinking. The reported difference in alcohol use could be linked to the racial differences between the groups reflecting the different norms associated with substance use. This was most evident for the use of drugs (mainly marijuana and Mandrax). Cape Town respondents reported the highest overall use of drugs, with 16.4% of the respondents reporting current use and 8.1% reporting previous use. Although both Tygerberg and Oostenberg reported a similar level of current use (Tygerberg 9.8% and Oostenberg 10.5%), their previous use differed with Tygerberg reporting the lowest use at 2.3%. The overall higher use of drugs among the Cape Town respondents reflects the higher use of drugs by Coloured men which has been reported in studies of crime as well (Legget 2002).

Alcohol was said to cause problems in relationships for 1 in 5 of the respondents who reported current and previous use while drug use was reported as problematic for 17.9% of those who used them. The Oostenberg respondents were more likely than respondents from the other two municipalities to report problems associated with both alcohol and drug use.

Table 4.8: Frequency distribution of alcohol and drug use and religious activities reported by the men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Alcohol use				
Do not drink alcohol	126 (24.1)	68 (18.2)	125 (26.6)	319 (23.3)
Drinks alcohol currently	296 (56.6)	252 (67.4)	237 (50.3)	785 (57.4)
Drank alcohol in the past	101 (19.3)	54 (14.4)	109 (23.1)	264 (19.3)
Patterns of drinking				
Drinks most days	23 (7.8)	23 (9.1)	18 (7.6)	64 (8.2)
Drinks mainly weekends	201 (68.4)	148 (58.7)	153 (64.8)	542 (64.2)
Drinks 2 - 3 times a week	19 (6.5)	36 (14.3)	22 (9.3)	77 (9.8)
Less than above	51 (17.3)	45 (17.9)	53 (18.3)	139 (17.8)
Drinking created problems in relationships	113 (21.6)	90 (24.1)	87 (18.5)	290 (21.2)
Drug use (Marijuana)				
Do not use drugs	460 (87.9)	313 (83.6)	356 (75.6)	1129 (82.5)
Uses currently	51 (9.8)	39 (10.5)	77 (16.4)	167 (2.2)
Used in the past	12 (2.3)	22 (5.9)	38 (8.1)	72 (5.3)
Drug use created problems in relationships	9 (14.5)	13 (22.4)	19 (17.4)	41 (17.9)

Alcohol use and its associations with other social and public health factors is complex. Some evidence of association is emerging, such as in a study of arrestees in which Pluddermann *et al.* (2002) showed an association between both alcohol and drug misuse and violent crime. Other studies in South Africa have shown links between alcohol and fatal injuries (Butchart and Brown 1991), and more recent work has highlighted the role of alcohol in public health, such as relating to prevalence of fetal alcohol syndrome (TeWaterNaude *et al.* 2000).

The few differences in alcohol use between the groups may be an indication of the common use of alcohol by these communities. This is not surprising as just under half of the men (45%) in the SADHS reported current alcohol use (Department of Health 2002). In addition both Tygerberg and Oostenberg municipalities are adjacent to the Winelands farming area, and many of its residents have links (move from farms to urban centres) with adjacent farming communities, which have a strong history of part-remuneration with alcohol, and ensuing alcohol problems (TeWaterNaude *et al.* 2000). The higher use of current alcohol by the Oostenberg respondents may be because this group have more resources to buy alcohol but the data showed that men with lower salaries were more likely to report current alcohol use (P 0.004). Ethnic differences for alcohol use has also been reported in South Africa (Parry 2000) and this data show similar higher levels of Coloured men (62%) reporting current use of alcohol compared to the other two race groups. The above findings suggest that alcohol consumption is complex and that other intervening factors such as poverty and lack of recreational facilities should be taken into account to understand the complex role of alcohol use in these communities.

The respondents who reported belonging to a religion were asked about involvement in religious activities and nearly half reported being active in them, with Oostenberg respondents reporting the highest (47.3%) and Tygerberg respondents the lowest (40.3%) religious activity (data not shown). These slight difference could be due to the racial differences in the samples as African men were least likely to report being active in church (P <0.0001).

4.4.2 The men's involvement in interpersonal violence and criminal activities

In Table 4.9 the frequency distribution of the men's involvement in interpersonal violence and criminal activities are shown. The Cape Town group reported the highest involvement in interpersonal violence. This group had the highest proportion of respondents belonging to a gang (8.5%) as well the highest proportion involved in physical fights at work (19.7%) and in their community (27.8%). The level of involvement in fights at work showed the biggest difference among the three groups, with Cape Town reporting double the involvement of Tygerberg.

Table 4.9: Frequency distribution of involvement in interpersonal violence and crime by the men in the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Belong to a gang	31 (6.0)	20 (5.3)	40 (8.5)	**91 (6.7)**
Involved in fights at work	51 (9.7)	54 (14.4)	93 (19.7)	**198 (14.5)**
Involved in fights at home/ community	130 (24.8)	98 (26.2)	131 (27.8)	**359 (26.2)**
Ever arrested by police	241 (46.1)	153 (40.9)	218 (46.3)	**612 (44.7)**
Number of arrests				
One	149 (61.8)	110 (71.0)	152 (70.4)	**411 (67.2)**
More than one	92 (38.2)	43 (29.0)	66 (29.6)	**201 (32.8)**
Reasons for arrest				
For violence against women	16 (3.1)	11 (6.1)	16 (2.9)	**43 (3.1)**
For violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs/weapons	159 (29.1)	103 (27.5)	120 (25.5)	**382 (27.9)**
For theft	49 (9.4)	24 (6.4)	55 (11.7)	**128 (9.4)**
For political reasons	32 (6.1)	3 (0.8)	22 (4.7)	**57 (4.2)**
Jail				
Spent time in jail	163 (31.2)	104 (27.8)	159 (33.7)	**426 (31.1)**
Length of time in jail				
Less than a month	89 (54.6)	75 (72.1)	125 (78.6)	**289 (67.8)**
1 - 6 months	30 (18.4)	13 (12.5)	19 (12.0)	**62 (14.6)**
More than 6 months	44 (27.0)	16 (15.4)	15 (9.4)	**75 (17.6)**

A possible explanation for the uneven distribution between the groups could be related to differences in willingness to report which became evident during the field work. When the fieldworker reached the questions on fighting at work, some respondents raised their concerns of recriminations if such incidents were known by management. They mainly feared disciplinary action against them, which could have resulted in them losing their jobs (although confidentiality was assured). The lower level of fights at work reported by the Tygerberg group could be related

to this sample having more unskilled workers, and therefore being more vulnerable and more likely to fear disciplinary action. Evenly distributed among the three municipal samples was reporting of ever having been involved in a physical fight in their home environment, with more than a quarter of all the men reporting such an incident.

High levels of interpersonal violence are a common feature of many aspects of South African daily life. In the formative study the men interviewed spoke about the daily occurrence of violence in their neighbourhood (Appendix I). South African Police statistics is one of the main sources of crime statistics, and the latest crime index reported that a third of all crimes recorded in the country are of a violent nature (Schönteich and Louw 2001).

Findings on criminal activities showed that nearly every second respondent had been arrested by police at some stage. Nearly a third (32.8%) of those arrested reported more than one arrest, with the Tygerberg group reporting the highest proportion of multiple arrests (38.2%), with 10 arrests reported as the highest number. These high levels of arrests are surprising since most crime perpetrators in South Africa are not caught (Camerer *et al.* 1998).

The reasons for arrest varied only slightly across the three groups. Most difference was seen for arrests for violence against women, with respondents from Oostenberg reporting twice as many as the other two groups. This group was also less likely to have been arrested for political reasons. In contrast, the Tygerberg respondents reported the highest proportion of political arrests. The most likely explanation is the racial difference between the groups. There were more African respondents in the Tygerberg group - overwhelmingly the victims of the State's repressive policies during the political struggle against apartheid. Throughout the apartheid rule the police were pre-occupied with enforcing the racial laws, and a great many Africans were arrested and jailed for contravening, among others, the Pass Laws which extended from the 1950s to the 80's while the student uprising in the 70's escalated the struggle for freedom into the 90's with the ensuing imprisonment of many South Africans

Nearly 1 in 3 of the respondents had spent time in jail. Length of time spent in jail differed for the three groups. More than a quarter of the Tygerberg respondents (27%) spent more than 6 months in jail, almost double those from Oostenberg (15.4%) and triple those from Cape Town

(9.4%). White men were least likely to have been to jail (P <0.0001) while no difference were found between Coloured/Asian and African men. The most likely explanation would be socio-economic discrepancies amongst the groups with poorer men having less resources to apply for bail and to have access to lawyers. In addition the criminal justice system may have been least supportive to racial disadvantage group. This may have resulted in these men having to wait longer periods for trails and also possible receive longer jail sentences.

4.5 Frustrations related to the men's work

In Table 4.10 the men's responses to their work-related frustrations are shown. Nearly every second man interviewed reported being frustrated within their job. There were slight differences in the levels of frustration between the groups, with Oostenberg reporting the highest level (51.3%) and Cape Town (43.7%) and Tygerberg (44.2%) reporting similar levels. The reasons for the difference are not evident. One possible explanation is that men with the higher-skilled jobs may experience higher levels of frustrations (P <0.0001). However, this may be an over-simplification since it has been suggested that stress is induced by poverty as well (Goode 1970).

Table 4.10: Frequency distribution of the men's responses to work frustrations for the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Frustrated at work	231 (44.2)	192 (51.3)	206 (43.7)	**629 (46.0)**
Response to their frustrations *				
Speak to someone at work	174 (75.3)	133 (69.3)	154 (74.7)	**461 (73.3)**
Speak to a friend	160 (69.3)	121 (63.1)	132 (60.1)	**413 (65.6)**
Speak to partner about it	159 (68.8)	137 (71.3)	143 (69.4)	**439 (69.8)**
Speak to 'others' about it	111 (48.1)	109 (56.7)	128 (62.1)	**348 (55.3)**
Pick argument with a partner	26 (11.3)	26 (13.5)	13 (6.4)	**65 (10.3)**
Pick argument with others	13 (5.6)	19 (9.9)	14 (6.8)	**46 (7.3)**
Use physical force to deal with it	13 (5.6)	18 (9.4)	11 (5.3)	**42 (6.7)**

*** Data do not total 100% because of multiple responses.**

There were some differences in the way the men dealt with their work-related frustrations. The respondents from Cape Town were more likely (62.1%) and the Tygerberg men were least likely (48.1%) to speak to 'others' (not friend/partner or someone at work) about their frustrations. The person to whom they spoke did not differ much across the three groups. Most of the men spoke

to someone at work (73.3%), a friend (65.6%) or even their partner (69.8%). However, there were differences in other responses to their work frustrations. The Oostenberg men reported a higher proportion of direct conflict and were more likely to pick an argument with a partner (13.5%) or to with others (9.9%) or to use physical force to dispense with frustrations related to their work (9.4%).

4.6 The men's views on women and violence

4.6.1 The men's views on gender roles

Table 4.11 shows the findings from a set of 11 questions used to identify the men's views on women and gender roles in relationships. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement, and if answered in a gender equitable way they were allocated a point or alternatively a zero for an inequitable answer. The sum of the positive responses was converted into a final percentage, which in the end reflected the degree to which respondents agreed or disagreed with traditional views of women and gender roles. If each of the 11 items contributed 9% to the score, then if a respondent had 2 or more inequitable answers he would score below 81%. Thus, an overall score below 81% would indicate adherence to traditional gender roles. Only 12.5% of all the respondents scored above 81%, with the Tygerberg respondents having the least equitable scores. The scores appeared normally distributed and the mean score for all the men ranged between 45 - 54, with a wide standard deviation of 21.0. The ANOVA test showed that the three group means were not equal, and that Tygerberg scores differed significantly from both Oostenberg and Cape Town scores ($P = <0.0001$) which were similar. This scoring indicates that the Tygerberg group adhered more to traditional patriarchal gender roles than the other two groups.

Individual agreement or non-agreement with each statement can also be used to reflect individual acceptance of behaviours presented. In general the majority of the men agreed that a woman's place is in the home (all men 68%, Tygerberg 76.9%), that a man is the head of the household (all the men 89.3%, Tygerberg 94.1%), and that a good wife always obeys her husband (all the men 82.7%, Tygerberg 88.3%), that a good wife tries not to make her husband angry (all men 79.5%, Tygerberg 88.1%). A surprising majority also agreed that men should share household tasks (all men 90.6%, Tygerberg 87.2%). The most obvious differences between Tygerberg and the other

two groups were related to statements of punishment of women, such as sometimes a husband should punish a wife if she does something wrong (all men 28.5%, Tygerberg 35.6%) and a man sometimes must hit a woman to remind her who is boss in the house (all the men 17.4%, Tygerberg 23.2%).

Table 4.11: Frequency distribution of the men's views on women and their roles in relationships for the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
Median	54.5	45.4	54.5	**54.5**
Mean score	45.0	53.8	54.8	**50.8**
Std. Dev	20.3	21.4	20.3	**21.0**
Scored > 81%	7.3	16.3	15.3	**12.5**
	n (%)	**n (%)**	**(n) %**	**N (%)**
Statements				
A woman's place is in the home	402 (76.9)	244 (65.2)	284 (60.3)	**930 (68.0)**
Men should share household tasks	456 (87.2)	350 (93.6)	432 (91.9)	**1238 (90.6)**
A husband should punish a wife if she does something wrong	186 (35.6)	96 (25.7)	108 (22.9)	**390 (28.5)**
A good wife always obeys a husband	461 (88.3)	288 (77.0)	382 (81.1)	**1131 (82.7)**
A man is the head of a household	492 (94.1)	330 (88.2)	400 (84.9)	**1222 (89.3)**
A good wife tries not to make her husband angry	461 (88.1)	279 (74.8)	347 (73.7)	**1087 (79.5)**
Sometimes a man must hit his wife to remind her who is boss in the house	121 (23.2)	56 (14.9)	61 (12.9)	**238 (17.4)**
If a wife earns more money than husband then relationship can be troubled	221 (42.4)	129 (34.5)	155 (32.9)	**505 (36.9)**
A wife/girlfriend should be able to say no if a husband /boyfriend wants sex and she does not	441 (84.8)	306 (81.8)	424 (90.2)	**1171 (85.6)**
A man has the final say in all family matters	291 (55.8)	183 (48.3)	215 (45.8)	**689 (50.4)**
It is OK for a woman to be the boss in the house	149 (28.6)	171 (45.7)	173 (36.8)	**493 (36.0)**

The differences between the three groups were not uniform. The men from Oostenberg were more likely than the other two groups to agree to the statement that it's OK for a woman to be head of the household. The statement on whether a woman can say no to sex if a husband wants sex was more often agreed to by the Cape Town men (90.2%) than Tygerberg men (84.8%) and Oostenberg (81.8%) men.

Explanations for the low score obtained by men from the Tygerberg site can only be speculated

to be related to cultural differences, with African men having stronger views on gender roles. The analysis of the individual statements does show that the biggest differences were related to the acceptance of control and punishment of women when it is perceived that they are not performing their expected roles adequately. The South African Three Province study reported similar perceptions of cultural tolerance reported by abused women (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin, forthcoming).

4.6.2 The men's views on use of physical violence within different settings

In Table 4.12 the acceptance of use of physical violence in different relationships and settings is presented. On average the three group scores indicated a reasonably low acceptance of the use of physical violence in general. The scores were not normally distributed with a skewness towards the lower scores for all three municipalities (range for all men 0 - 72.2). There were also varying levels of acceptance for each scenario, with Cape Town respondents reporting considerably lower levels of acceptance and Tygerberg respondents higher levels of acceptance for most of the scenarios. Overall, the majority (79.5%) of the respondents agreed that it is acceptable for a parent, and to a lesser extent, a teacher (75.6%) to hit a child. Nearly a third of the respondents from Tygerberg accepted that a neighbour could hit a child which was nearly twice more than both Oostenberg and Cape Town. The overwhelming majority of the respondents agreed that it was not acceptable for a foreman to hit a worker and for a son and daughter to hit their mother. Nearly a third accepted physical violence between gangsters, between police and criminals and between community members and criminals, with Tygerberg respondents reporting higher levels of acceptance compared to the other two groups. Varying levels of acceptance were found for physical violence between men, with a higher level of acceptance for physical violence among men of the same age. It was also almost equally acceptable for both men and women to use physical violence on a younger sibling (male sibling 20.1%, female sibling 18.2%). The levels of acceptance of a man hitting his female partner were considerably different across the three groups, with Tygerberg respondents acceptance levels almost twice as high as Oostenberg and four times more than the Cape Town.

It is possible that the higher level of acceptance by the Tygerberg respondents could be a reflection of cultural differences between the groups. More 75% of the African men (compared to 53.4% White and 63.2% Coloured men) agreed that use of violence is acceptable in more than

1 scenario. Some other aspects of cultural differences were also evident in the data, such as Tygerberg respondents having a much higher level of acceptance for a neighbour to hit a child (39.5%) compared to the other two groups (P<0.0001). This may however, indicate the value and practice of the role of neighbours in the raising of families within the African culture.

Table 4.12: Frequency distributions of the men's views on use of physical violence in various scenarios for the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
Mean score	16.2	13.6	10.5	13.5
Std. Dev	12.4	10.0	9.4	10.0
Median	13.8	11.1	8.3	11.1
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Use of violence **not acceptable** in any of the below scenarios	30 (5.7)	20 (5.3)	67 (14.2)	117 (8.5)
Use of violence acceptable in 1of the below scenarios	109 (20.8)	93 (24.9)	153 (32.5)	355 (25.9)
Use of violence acceptable in > 1of the below scenarios	384 (73.4)	261 (69.8)	251 (53.3)	896 (65.5)
Statements				
It is acceptable for:				
A parent to hit a child	429 (82.0)	324 (86.6)	334 (71.1)	1087 (79.5)
A teacher to hit a child	426 (81.5)	284 (75.9)	323 (68.7)	1033 (75.6)
A neighbour to hit a child	166 (31.7)	64 (17.1)	83 (17.6)	313 (22.90
A man to hit his wife/girlfriend	107 (20.5)	32 (8.5)	28 (5.9)	167 (12.2)
A woman to hit her male partner	17 (3.3)	15 (4.0)	15 (3.2)	47 (3.4)
A foreman to hit a worker	2 (0.4)	1 (0.3)	5 (1.1)	8 (0.6)
A mother to hit a daughter-in-law	25 (4.8)	14 (3.7)	9 (1.9)	48 (3.5)
Gangsters to hit each other	149 (28.6)	108 (28.9)	97 (20.6)	354 (25.9)
A son to hit his mother	1 (0.2)	4 (1.1)	2 (0.4)	7 (0.5)
A daughter to hit her mother	2 (0.4)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.6)	6 (0.4)
A man to hit another of same age	119 (22.7)	74 (19.8)	93 (19.7)	286 (20.9)
A man to hit an older man	43 (8.2)	37 (9.9)	37 (7.9)	117 (8.5)
A man to hit women not related	26 (5.0)	24 (6.4)	14 (3.0)	64 (4.7)
A woman to hit another not related	48 (9.2)	32 (8.6)	25 (5.3)	105 (7.7)
Police to hit a criminal	210 (40.2)	130 (34.7)	123 (26.1)	463 (33.8)
A man to hit younger siblings	125 (23.9)	71 (19.0)	79 (16.8)	275 (20.1)
A woman to hit younger siblings	118 (22.6)	65 (17.4)	66 (14.0)	249 (18.2)
People to hit a criminal	226 (43.2)	139 (37.2)	116 (24.6)	481 (35.2)

4.6.3 The men's views on use of physical violence on female partners

The findings for the men's views on the use of violence against women are shown in Table 4.13. Nearly a third of all the respondents said there were justifiable situations to hit their female partner. The overwhelming majority of the justifications for hitting a partner were associated with

women's performance or non-performance of their expected roles. The acceptance of these justifications varied across the three groups, with respondents from Tygerberg reporting a much higher proportion (39.4%) of acceptance than Oostenberg (25.4%) and Cape Town (23.2%). The most common reasons given for justification were when a woman is suspected of infidelity (27.3%) followed by when she is *"cheeky"* or *"disobeys"* a man's orders (24.6%), and her alcohol drinking (24.1%). The reasons agreed upon varied between the three groups. Cape Town respondents were more likely to give reasons which included women not "performing their duties" (17.3%) (*"does not wash my work clothes"*, *"when she sits at home doing nothing"*) and hitting women in *"self-defence"* and when she is *"hysterical"* (5.5%) compared to the other two groups. In contrast, Oostenberg respondents were more likely to report the woman's infidelity (30.2%) (*"when she falls in love; "when she comes home late without a reason*") and her alcohol drinking (29.2%), the least likely reason reported was when women provoked the man's anger (4.2%). The most common reasons given by the Tygerberg respondents were related to the women disobeying the man's orders (28.6%) such as *" she does not want to listen"* , or being cheeky such as *"when she wants to say the last word"*. A small proportion of the respondents gave reasons which were not directly related to women's expected behaviour, such as a situation of hysteria or self defence.

Table 4.13: Frequency distributions of justifications given for use of physical violence on female partners for the three municipalities (N = 1368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
It is justifiable to hit women in certain circumstances	206 (39.4)	96 (25.4)	110 (23.2)	412 (30.1)
Justifiable reasons to hit a woman*				
When women do not perform duties	25 (12.4)	16 (16.7)	19 (17.3)	60 (14.6)
When women are suspected of infidelity	52 (25.2)	29 (30.2)	31 (28.2)	112 (27.3)
When women are "cheeky" or "disobey" a man	59 (28.6)	16 (16.7)	26 (23.6)	101 (24.6)
When women provoke a man	15 (7.3)	4 (4.2)	8 (7.3)	27 (6.6)
Her alcohol drinking	51 (24.8)	28 (29.2)	20 (18.2)	99 (24.1)
When a woman is hysterical/in self-defence	4 (1.9)	3 (3.1)	6 (5.5)	13 (3.2)

* Data does not add up to 100% because of multiple responses

4.7 The men's partners

4.7.1 Number and types of partnerships

The men interviewed were asked to identify both current and previous partners with whom they had meaningful (defined in Chapter 3) relationships within the last 10 years (Table 4.14). Only 4% of the respondents were not in current relationships. The majority of the men had exclusive current relationships; this was most common with Cape Town respondents (77.5%), and least in the Tygerberg group (59.5%). The Tygerberg group had the highest proportion of both current and previous partners, and were more likely to report multiple current partners (22.2%). In comparison, the Cape Town group were least likely to report multiple current partners (11.2%). Overall, the maximum number of partners was four current and seven previous partners.

Table 4.14: Frequency distributions of the number of partnerships reported by the men in the three municipalities (N = 1 368)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 523	Oostenberg n = 374	Cape Town n = 471	Total N = 1368
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Current partners only	311 (59.5)	247 (66.3)	365 (77.5)	924 (67.6)
Previous partners only	18 (3.4)	17(4.6)	19 (4.0)	54 (3.9)
Both current and previous partners	194 (37.1)	109 (29.1)	87 (18.5)	390 (28.5)
Multiple current partners				
>1 current partner	116 (22.2)	46 (12.3)	53 (11.2)	215 (15.7)
Range of partners				
Current	0 - 3	0 - 4	0 - 4	0 - 4
Previous	0 - 7	0 - 4	0 - 5	0 - 7

Cultural differences between the groups seem the most plausible explanation for why the Tygerberg group reported the highest proportion of previous partners as well as the highest proportion of multiple current partners (African men had the highest proportion of multiple current partners $P<0.0001$). This is also the group which had more traditional views of women and who was also more likely to agree on the use of violence. However, other factors have influenced the relationship between male workers and their female partners in South Africa. Labour laws created by the Apartheid government prevented the families of male workers from accompanying them which impacted on these households and relationships (Wilson and Ramphele 1989). Although the impact was greatest among the migrant workers in the mining sector, a similar process of *"oscillating"* (Wilson and Ramphele 1989: p. 197) of African male

workers was seen in the Western Cape, with the multiplying of single male hostels in townships such as Crossroads. Promoted by ideas of masculinities that condone multiple sexual partners, these men sought new sexual relationships - some have called this a 'modern version of polygamy' and it has been one of the explanations for the high number of multiple relationships, impacting on HIV transmission among African men in Southern Africa today (Campbell 2001).

4.8 Profile of the female partners

Questions on the female partners of the respondents were answered by the men and this was therefore an indirect way of obtaining information about their partners. It is possible that the answers are a little biased since they reflect the respondents' interpretation of their partners and their relationships.

4.8.1 Socio-demographic profile of the female partners

A total of 2060 women were described, and the types of partnerships are presented in Table 4.15. The Cape Town respondents reported the most wives and also reported having been in relationships longer. Girlfriends formed nearly half of all the partners that both Tygerberg and Oostenberg respondents described. Of the girlfriends, nearly a third were cohabiting with the respondents. The higher proportion of wives described by the Cape Town group is in keeping with the finding of them having more exclusive current and established relationships.

Table 4.15: Frequency distributions of the type of partnerships with female partners for the three municipalities (N = 2060)

Variables	Tygerberg n = 892	Oostenberg n = 539	Cape Town n = 629	Total N = 2 060
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Type of partner				
Wives	432 (48.4)	281 (52.1)	397 (63.1)	1010 (53.9)
Girlfriends	460 (51.6)	258 (47.9)	232 (36.9)	950 (46.1)
Living with a girlfriend	141 (30.7)	69 (26.7)	64 (27.6)	274 (28.8)
Not living with a girlfriend	319 (69.3)	189 (73.3)	168 (72.4)	676 (71.2)
Time together				
Less than 1 year	107 (12.0)	72 (13.4)	48 (7.6)	227 (11.0)
1 - 5 years	304 (34.1)	189 (35.1)	161 (25.6)	654 (31.8)
> 5 years	481 (53.9)	278 (51.6)	420 (66.8)	1 179 (57.2)

Table 14.16 shows the demographic profile of the female partners. Overall the female partners were younger than the men with Oostenberg having the smallest proportion of younger partners (63.5%). Almost one in every two partners was employed, with Tygerberg reporting the lowest proportion (40.5%). On average most female partners were more educated than the respondents (47.8%), with the lowest proportion here reported by the Oostenberg group (39.5%). When the educational levels of only the partners who had jobs were analysed, the discrepancy between their comparative educational level and their earnings was highest for Oostenberg (64.3%).

Table 4.16: Demographic profile of female partners for the three municipalities (N = 2060)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 892	Oostenberg n = 539	Cape Town n = 629	Total N = 2 060
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Age*				
Older than male partner	148 (16.6)	123 (22.9)	121 (19.3)	392 (19.1)
Same age as male partner	75 (8.4)	73 (13.6)	57 (9.1)	205 (10.0)
Younger than male partner	667 (74.9)	341 (63.5)	450 (71.6)	1 458 (70.9)
Education**				
Less than male partner	242 (29.0)	177 (33.3)	164 (27.0)	583 (29.5)
Same as male partner	157 (18.8)	145 (27.3)	145 (23.8)	447 (22.6)
More than male partner	436 (52.2)	210 (39.5)	299 (49.2)	945 (47.9)
Employed	361 (40.5)	293 (54.4)	278 (44.2)	932 (45.2)
Earns				
Less than male partner	248 (68.7)	224 (76.4)	183 (65.8)	655 (70.3)
Same as male partner	31 (8.6)	24 (8.2)	26 (9.4)	81 (8.7)
More than male partner	82 (22.7)	45 (15.4)	69 (24.8)	196 (21.0)
Had more education but earned less than respondent	97 (56.4)	72 (64.3)	76 (56.7)	245 (58.6)

* Missing age data for 5 partners
** Missing data for 35 partners

There are a number of possible explanations for this. Firstly, this could be a reflection of the way in which women are economically discriminated against in the labour markets which have been reported in the census (Statistics South Africa 1998). Secondly, the discrepancy could be due to reporting bias since the men answered the question on behalf of their partners and might not want it known that their wives earn more than them. It is also possible that women do not disclose their real earnings to their partner for they fear being deprived of their own earnings and of their partners' contribution to the household as well. Whatever explanation is the most plausible for understanding the discrepancy, all of it has the thread of gender inequality as a main component.

The number of children the man has with his partners as well as alcohol and drug use are described in Table 4.17. The majority of the partners had children with the male respondents with the highest number of children reported by the Cape Town group. This is in keeping with this group being more likely to be married and in longer relationships.

Table 4.17: Frequency distributions of demographic variables of the female partners for the three municipalities (N= 2060)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 892	Oostenberg n = 539	Cape Town n = 629	Total N = 2 060
	n%	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Children with the partner	519 (58.2)	320 (59.4)	432 (68.7)	1271 (61.7)
2 or fewer children	306 (58.9)	189 (59.1)	232 (53.7)	725 (57.0)
3 or more children	213 (41.1)	131 (41.9)	200 (46.3)	544 (43.0)
Partner uses alcohol	253 (28.4)	184 (34.1)	143 (22.7)	580 (28.2)
Her alcohol use is problematic	113 (44.7)	59 (32.1)	56 (39.2)	228 (39.3)
Partner uses drugs (Mandrax/dagga)	14 (1.6)	8 (1.5)	12 (1.9)	34 (1.7)

A similar, low proportion of drug use by female partners was reported across the three groups, but alcohol use differed. Oostenberg had the highest proportion of use, in more than a third of all the partners, but problems associated with its use were the reported least among this group (highest by the Tygerberg respondents). The findings show differences in the patterns of alcohol use in the men and their partners. Although Oostenberg respondents reported the highest current use of alcohol for themselves and their partners, alcohol drinking by the men was double that their partners (57.4% vs. 28.2%). In contrast, the men reported having fewer problems associated with their use of alcohol compared to their partners (27.0% vs. 39.3%). Differences were also evident between the groups. Nearly half of the partners from Tygerberg who used alcohol were reported to have problems. The differences between the groups once again suggest cultural differences in alcohol use, with African and Coloured men possibly being less tolerant of alcohol use by their partners than by themselves. This was evident when reasons were given for why it was acceptable to hit women - many men said ' *when she is drunk*' or ' *when she is has been drinking*'.

4.8.2 Conflict with partners

The overwhelming majority of the respondents described their relationships as good, but nearly a third reported conflict happening at least once a month or more often. The Oostenberg group reported the most frequent conflicts (Table 4.18). The series of questions which elicited the reasons for the conflict was derived from the earlier qualitative study (Appendix I). The respondents had to answer "yes" or "no" for each of the reasons, and were also allowed to add others not listed.

Table 4.18: Conflicts with partners for the three municipalities (N = 2060)

Variable	Tygerberg n = 892	Oostenberg n = 539	Cape Town n = 629	Total N = 2 060
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Have good relationships	768 (86.1)	470 (87.2)	562 (89.4)	1 800 (87.4)
Frequency of conflict*				
Daily	52 (5.9)	19 (3.5)	41 (6.5)	112 (5.5)
Weekly	107 (12.0)	77 (14.3)	61 (9.7)	245 (11.9)
At least once a month	121 (13.6)	110 (20.5)	91 (14.5)	322 (15.7)
Seldom	431 (48.5)	255 (47.4)	315 (50.2)	1 001 (48.7)
Never	178 (20.0)	77 (14.3)	120 (19.1)	375 (18.2)
Reasons for conflicts with partners **				
When she is cheeky/'sits on his head'	392 (54.9)	292 (63.2)	276 (54.2)	760 (57.0)
When she suspects him of infidelity	346 (48.6)	198 (42.6)	197 (38.8)	741 (44.0)
When she demands more time	278 (39.0)	249 (53.8)	219 (43.1)	746 (44.3)
Not performing expected roles	201 (38.4)	130 (41.4)	174 (43.5)	505 (40.8)
Household finances	208 (33.3)	135 (38.0)	150 (33.2)	493 (34.5)
His alcohol and drug use	219 (30.7)	157 (33.9)	122 (24.0)	498 (29.6)
About in-laws	178 (25.0)	150 (32.5)	138 (27.2)	466 (27.7)
When he suspects her of infidelity	174 (24.4)	100 (21.6)	90 (17.7)	364 (21.6)
When she does not want to have sex	162 (22.8)	82 (17.7)	88 (17.3)	332 (19.7)
Other reasons (e.g. her alcohol use)	39 (5.4)	8 (1.8)	25 (4.9)	72 (4.0)

* Missing data for 5 partners.
** Data does not total to 100% because of multiple responses.

The most common reason for arguments mentioned by all three groups was when the partners were perceived to be "cheeky" or "bossy", with Oostenberg reporting the highest proportion here (63.2%). A useful way to further look at the proportions of and differences in reasons is the order in terms of most common to least common reasons mentioned for each group. For Cape Town the second most common reason for arguments was when women did not perform their household duties, and the third most common was when she demanded more time. Tygerberg was different: their second most common reason was when the respondent was suspected of being unfaithful and

involved with other women, followed by the partner demanding more time. The Oostenberg group had the partners wanting the respondent to spend more time with them as the second most common reason, followed by suspecting his infidelity. Not performing household duties was only fourth for both Oostenberg and Tygerberg. Overall, more than one in three partners had conflict related to household finances. Conflict also occurred when the respondent suspected the partner of infidelity, referred to as *"when she speaks to other men"*. The Tygerberg group reported the highest proportion of conflict for this reason (24.4%) as well as for when the partners do not want to have sex with them (22.8%).

The men's alcohol use was also a reason for conflict, most reported by the Oostenberg group. These findings are generally in keeping with earlier findings of men's reasons for justification of hitting women (Table 4.14). Similarly, the Oostenberg group reported the highest use of as well as the most problems associated with their alcohol drinking, and this is reflected in them having the most arguments with partners about this. Most of the reasons for conflict and the most common reasons given were associated with women not performing their expected roles, which overlaps with the how men view women and their roles in relationships (Table 4.12). Some of the patterns for the groups also hold. For example, Cape Town respondents were more likely to agree that a woman can refuse to sex when her partner wants it, and they were also the least likely to have arguments associated with it.

4.9 Conclusion

The findings of the demographic and risk factor profiles for the three municipalities shown in this chapter are a reflection of the complexity of the diverse population of Cape Town. Although the demographic profile of the three groups varied, the differences remained constant and followed a distinct pattern. This was directly related to the differences in the way the samples were drawn, with the respondents from Oostenberg being drawn from all the workers. This was not the case for the other two groups, where the majority of respondents were shown to have a lower socio-economic status reflecting the nature of their work within the municipalities, i.e. mainly semi- and unskilled labour. Subsequently, the Oostenberg group was shown to have a higher social status, which was reflected in their racial, education, ownership and salary profiles.

The variations between the groups did not follow a distinct pattern and some apparent

contradictions were seen. For example, although the respondents from Cape Town reported higher levels of interpersonal violence (at home, work and in the community), their acceptance of the use of violence in different settings was much lower than in the other two groups. The role of bias reporting is also a consideration for the differences in the group, but the level of under- or over-reporting cannot be measured.

However, other patterns emerged. For example, respondents from the Tygerberg group appeared most conservative on their views on gender roles, and this was supported by the data on their acceptance of the use of violence against women and their responses to the justification of hitting a woman in certain circumstances.

The most revealing difference was the lack of association in the Oostenberg group between socio-demographic profile and risk factor profile. Despite their higher social status, they did not differ in their use of interpersonal violence, their views on women, their views on the use of physical violence, or their conflict with partners.

Chapter 5

Prevalence of different types of violence against women reported by the men

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings on the prevalence estimates of the different types of abuse of partners during the 10 years preceding the study, as well as the prevalence of hitting a partner within the previous 12 months, i.e. current physical violence. This is followed by the comparison of prevalence estimates for specific socio-demographic variables for physical and sexual violence introduced in the previous chapter.

5.2 Magnitude of violence used against partners

The overall prevalence of ever having used physical, emotional, sexual, verbal and economic abused against an intimate partner of the last 10 years is shown in Figure 5.1.

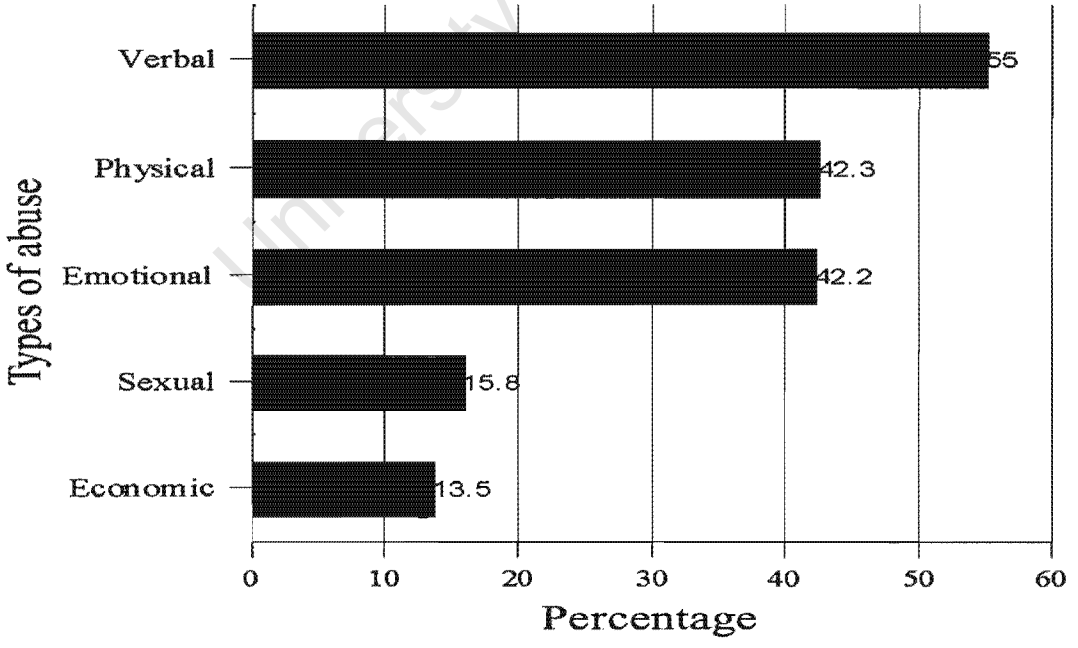

Figure 5.1 Prevalence of ever having used physical, emotional, verbal, economic or sexual violence against intimate partner of last 10 years

Overall, of all the 1368 men interviewed, 906 (66.2%) indicated that they had used one or more of the five identified types of violence with partners of the last 10 years. The most common abuse described by the men was verbal aggression reported, by more than half the men interviewed (55%), while nearly half the men reported the use of physical (42.3%) and emotional (42.2%) violence. Sexual violence was reported by 15.8% of the respondents, while 13.5% reported economic abuse.

5.3 Prevalence of the individual acts of abuse

Except for the case of sexual violence, questions to identify the different types of abuse were asked in relation to responses to questions about conflict between the men and their partners. Prevalences of individual related behaviours are listed in Table 5.1 with 95% confidence intervals. Except for economic abuse most of the abuse categories comprised a number of behaviours, and if a respondent answered 'yes' to any one of them he was identified as falling within that abuse category. For example, a respondent who answered positively to having evicted his partner would be identified as having used emotional abuse.

The most common physically violent behaviour reported was the use of smacks, followed by grabbing and pushing. Nearly 9% of the men reported hitting a partner in the past year.

The most common emotionally abusive behaviour reported was intimidation with the use of different threats. Threatening to use physical violence (to hit or to throw an object at the partner) was reported by more than one in every five respondents (21.8%), while more serious threats to physically harm or to use the weapon was reported by nearly 5% of the men. Most common weapons used in these threats were knives and guns. Evicting a partner from their home was reported by 13.5% of the men while damaging her valuables was also a tactic used to intimidate the partner. More than a quarter of the men reported the use of threats to end the relationship (29.8%), while embarrassing and humiliating a partner in front of friends and family was reported by 11.1% of the men.

This study measured verbal abuse separately from emotional abuse. Shouting at the partner was the most common verbally aggressive behaviour reported by more than half the respondents. This was followed by the use of dirty language, which included, swearing at the partner (27%)

Table 5.1: Prevalence of individual behaviours for each of the five abuse categories (N = 1368)

Types of abuse	n (%)*	95% CI
Physical abuse	**579 (42.3)**	**39.6 - 44.8**
Grabbed and/or pushed her	361 (26.4)	24.2 - 28.7
Threw an object at her	127 (9.3)	7.7 - 10.8
Smacked her	495 (36.1)	33.6 - 38.7
Hit a partner in the last year	120 (8.8)	7.3 - 10.3
Verbal abuse	**752 (55.0)**	**52.3 - 57.6**
Shouted at her	700 (51.1)	48.5 - 53.8
Swore at her	369 (27.0)	24.6 - 29.3
Called her rude and derogatory names	212 (15.4)	13.6 - 17.4
Emotional abuse	**578 (42.2)**	**39.6 - 44.8**
Threatened to leave the relationship	408 (29.8)	27.4 - 32.2
Damaged valuables belonging to her	110 (8.0)	6.6 - 9.5
Smashed or kicked an object	124 (9.1)	7.5 - 10.6
Embarrassed her in front of her friends/family	152 (11.1)	9.4 - 12.8
Evicted her from the house	185 (13.5)	11.7 - 15.3
Threatened to hit her or to throw an object at her	298 (21.8)	19.6 - 24.0
Threatened her with a weapon	66 (4.8)	3.7 - 6.0
Economic abuse		
Refused to provide money for running of the house	185 (13.5)	11.7 - 15.3
Sexual abuse	**209 (15.3)**	**13.8 - 17.7**
Tried to force her to have sex	112 (8.2)	6.7 - 9.6
Had forced sex with her	97 (7.1)	6.2 - 9.0

* Do not total to 100% because of multiple responses.

Economic abuse was reported by 13.5% of the men. This form of abuse was based on a single variable, and does not include all forms of economic abuse used in intimate relations. Sexual abuse was reported by more than 1 in 6 of the men interviewed (15.3%). This included forced sex (rape7.1%) and attempts to force sex (8.2%); these were mutually exclusive variables which were both used to measure sexual violence.

Severity of the abusive behaviours was not measured directly in this study. However, all the men who reported physical violence (n = 579) were asked to describe an argument which ended violently. More than 60% of those who reported using physical abuse described such a violent

incident. Many of the descriptions included the justification of their use of violence, e.g. "*I threw her with a brick because she used the milk money for alcohol*"; "*I pushed her and she fell. She wants to wear the pants in the house but I work while she lays at home*"; "*I tried to make my point clear to her and slapped her and pushed her*" while a few of the incidents referred to both partners "*fighting*", e.g. "*we were arguing and she pushed me*". Furthermore, 12.6% of the men who reported physical violence and 16.7% of those who reported sexual violence indicated that their partners had to be treated by a doctor for injuries resulting from the violence. These latter findings may be indicative of the level of severity of the abuse.

5.4 The multiple uses of violence reported by the men

In Figure 5.2 the proportion reporting use of multiple types of violence is shown. One-third of the men (n = 462) did not report any of the five types of abuse, while nearly half (49.3%) reported using more than one type of abuse. Similar proportions of about 17% each reported using between one and three types of violence. A revealing finding is that more than 88% of the men who reported current use of violence reported using three or more types of abuse.

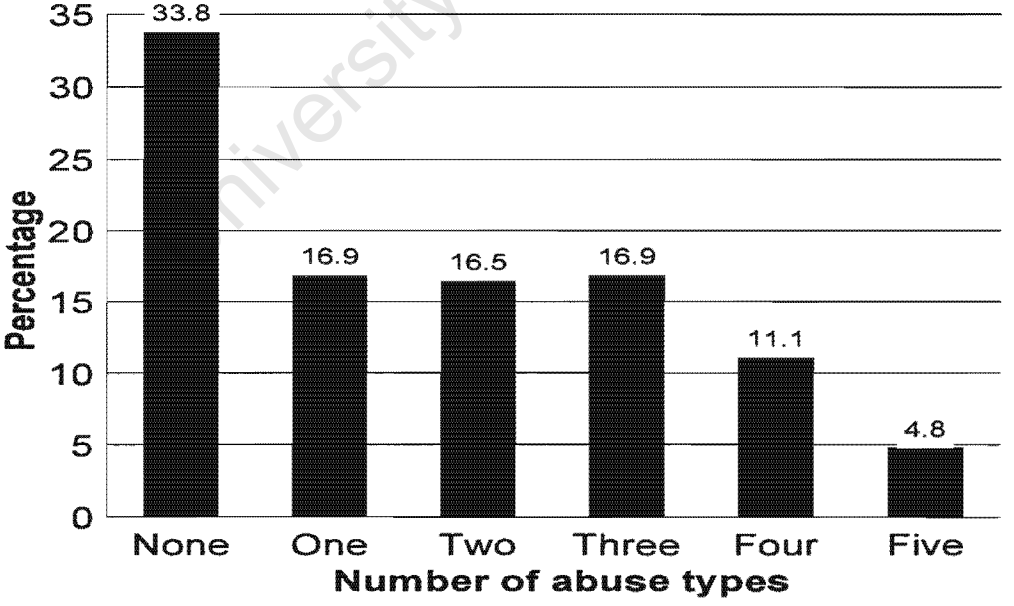

Figure 5.2 Multiple use of violence against partners of the last 10 years (N= 1368)

In Table 5.2 the distribution of the number of types of abuse for each of the violence categories is shown. Sexual and economic abuse were least likely to occur on their own, with more than 73% of the men who reported economic abuse and more than 81% of the men who reported sexual abuse also reporting having used more than four different types of abuse.

Table 5.2: Number of abuse types used for each of the abuse categories (n = 1026)

Number of abuse types reported by men	Physical n (%)	Emotional n (%)	Verbal n (%)	Economic n (%)	Sexual n (%)
One	25 (4.2)	33 (5.7)	37 (4.9)	3 (1.6)	4 (1.9)
Two	64 (11.1)	128 (22.1)	209 (27.8)	15 (8.1)	9 (4.3)
Three	254 (43.9)	203 (35.1)	270 (35.9)	31 (16.7)	26 (12.4)
Four	170 (29.4)	149 (25.8)	169 (22.5)	70 (37.8)	106 (50.7)
Five	66 (11.4)	65 (11.2)	66 (8.8)	66 (35.7)	64 (30.6)
Total	579 (100)	578 (100)	751 (100)	185 (100)	209 (100)

5.5 Overlaps between physical, sexual and emotional abuse

In figure 5.3 the overlaps between physical, sexual and emotional abuse are presented with 1 in 9 of the men reporting all the three types of abuse (n = 156).

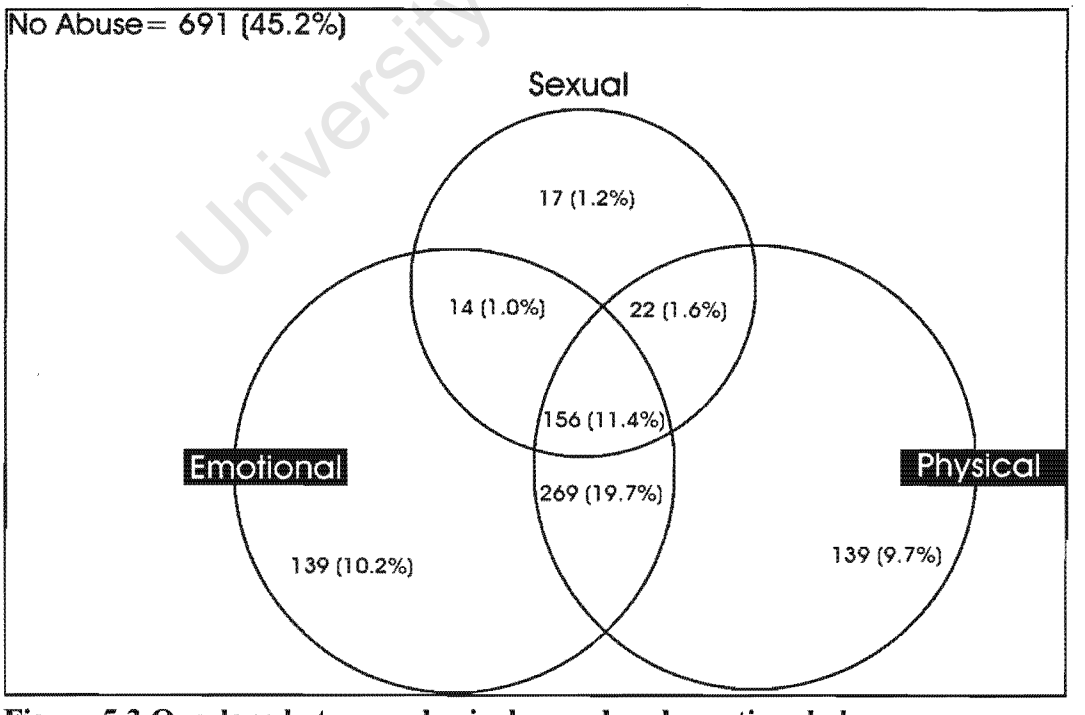

Figure 5.3 Overlaps between physical sexual and emotional abuse

The combined use of emotional and physical abuse was most evident with nearly 2 in 3 men who reported physical abuse also reported emotional abuse (and vice versa). Sexual abuse was least likely to occur on its own with more than 80% of the men who reported sexual abuse also reporting physical and emotional abuse.

5.6 Men who use physical and sexual violence: Socio-demographic profiles

Analysis of the socio-demographic profiles of the men who reported using physical and sexual violence follows

5.6.1 Association between use of physical and sexual violence and the age profile of the men

The age distribution of the whole sample was presented in Chapter 4. In Table 5.3 the age differences between abusers and non-abusers are shown. Significant differences were found in the mean ages of the two groups of men, with all the t-tests being significant below 0.0001. The men not reporting abuse were older.

Table 5.3: Age profiles of men using physical and sexual violence (n = 1363)*

Age	Physical abuse n = 579		Hitting in the past year n = 120		Sexual abuse n = 209	
Mean age	36 5	40.6	35.6	39.5	35.6	39.5
SD	9.3	10.7	9.2	10.4	9.2	10.4
t-test (*P*-value)	7.51 (*P*<0.0001)		4.94 (*P*<0.0001)		5.00 (*P*<0.0001)	
	Yes n (%)	No n (%)	Yes n (%)	No n (%)	Yes n (%)	No n (%)
20 - 29	155 (54.6)	129 (45.4)	42 (14.8)	242 (85.2)	63 (22.2)	221 (77.8)
30 - 39	234 (46.5)	269 (53.5)	48 (9.5)	455 (90.5)	90 (17.9)	413 (82.1)
40 - 49	125 (37.4)	209 (62.6)	21 (6.3)	313 (93.7)	34 (10.2)	300 (89.8)
50 - 59	54 (26.5)	150 (73.5)	9 (4.4)	195 (95.6)	19 (9.3)	185 (90.7)
60 +	10 (25.0)	30 (75.0)	0	40 (100.0)	3 (7.5)	37 (92.5)
	X^2 = 50.3 P <0.0001		X^2= 24.4 P < 0.0001		X^2= 27.2 P <0.0001	
	Z = -6.95 P = 0.00		Z =- 4.77 P = 0.00		Z = -4.96 P = 0.00	

* Missing data for 3 respondents.

Furthermore, different age categories show significant differences in terms of prevalence of the use of violence (Pearson Chi-square used to test overall independence). Using the Cochran-Armitage trend test (which approximates the Chi-square), a significant negative linear trend was also found for the age groups for all types of violence, i.e. the prevalence of abuse decreased as age increased.

Table 5.4: Socio-demographic profiles of men using physical and sexual violence (N = 1368)

Variable	Physical Abuse		Hitting in past year		Sexual Abuse	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	n (%)		n (%)		n (%)	
Race						
African	139 (39.7)	211 (60.3)	35 (10.0)	315 (90.0)	60 (17.1)	290 (82.9)
Coloured	412 (46.9)	467 (53.1)	82 (9.3)	797 (90.7)	140 (15.9)	739 (84.1)
White	19 (16.1)	99 (83.9)	2 (1.7)	116 (98.3)	3 (2.5)	115 (97.5)
Indian	9 (42.9)	12 (57.1)	1 (4.8)	20 (95.2)	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)
	$X^2 = 41.7$ $P < 0.0001$		$X^2 = 8.8$ $P = 0.032$		$X^2 = 18.9$ $P < 0.0001$	
Education						
No schooling	20 (24.4)	62 (75.6)	2 (2.4)	80 (97.5)	4 (4.9)	78 (95.1)
Grade 1 - Grade 7	197 (49.5)	201 (50.5)	37 (9.3)	361 (90.7)	71 (17.8)	327 (82.2)
Grade 8 - Grade9	223 (44.2)	280 (55.6)	56 (11.1)	448 (88.9)	91 (18.1)	413 (81.9)
Grade 10 - Grade 12	138 (35.9)	246 (64.1)	25 (6.5)	359 (93.5)	43 (11.2)	341 (88.8)
	$X^2 = 26.5$ $P = 0.0001$		$X^2 = 12.7$ $P = 0.005$		$X^2 = 19.1$ $P = 0.0001$	
	$Z = -1.45$ $P = 0.15$		$Z = -0.04$ $P = 0.97$		$Z = -0.74$ $P = 0.46$	
Post school training	59 (23.9)	188 (76.1)	9 (3.6)	238 (96.4)	16 (6.5)	231 (93.2)
Job						
Unskilled	353 (47.5)	390 (52.5)	79 (10.6)	664 (89.4)	129 (17.4)	614 (82.6)
Semiskilled	84 (39.4)	129 (60.6)	13 (6.1)	200 (93.9)	27 (12.7)	186 (87.3)
Skilled	125 (35.8)	224 (64.2)	24 (6.9)	325 (93.1)	49 (14.0)	300 (86.0)
Professional	17 (27.0)	46 (73.0)	4 (6.4)	59 (93.6)	4 (6.4)	59 (93.6)
	$X^2 = 21.0$ $P = 0.000$		$X^2 = 7.1$ $P = 0.068$		$X^2 = 7.9$ $P = 0.048$	
	$Z = -4.52$ $P = 0.001$		$Z = -2.46$ $P = 0.01$		$Z = -2.39$ $P = 0.02$	
Type of dwelling						
Formal	457 (41.3)	649 (58.7)	90 (8.1)	1016 (91.9)	163 (14.7)	943 (85.3)
Informal	114 (46.3)	132 (53.7)	25 (10.2)	221 (89.8)	44 (17.9)	202 (82.1)
	$X^2 = 2.1$ $P = 0.149$		$X^2 = 1.1$ $P = 0.303$		$X^2 = 1.5$ $P = 0.215$	
Household Density						
> 4 /room	16 (34.0)	31 (66.0)	5 (10.6)	42 (89.4)	11 (23.4)	36 (76.6)
2.1 - 4 /rm	233 (46.5)	268 (53.5)	51 (10.2)	450 (89.8)	84 (16.8)	417 (83.2)
2 or less/rm	326 (40.2)	485 (59.8)	62 (7.6)	749 (92.4)	113 (13.9)	698 (86.1)
	$X^2 = 6.4$ $P = 0.040$		$X^2 = 2.7$ $P = 0.254$		$X^2 = 2.4$ $P = 0.112$	
	$Z = -1.65$ $P = 0.10$		$Z = -1.55$ $P = 0.12$		$Z = -1.88$ $P = 0.06$	

5.6.2 Association between physical and sexual use of violence and race, education, occupation and household profile of the men

In Table 5.4 the association between physical and sexual use of violence and the rest of the socio-demographic profile is shown. The prevalence of the abuse differed significantly across the race groups. Coloured men reported the highest levels of physical violence (46.9%) followed by Indian men; White men reported the lowest level (16.1%). The profile for sexual violence also differed, with Indian men reporting the highest prevalence (28.6%) which was nearly twice the overall rate. African and Coloured men reported similar prevalence rates for sexual abuse and for hitting a partner in the last year.

There was a significant difference between the educational groups for all the abuse categories. In general, the prevalences of the three types of abuse were highest in the groups who received some education. Low levels were reported both by men with no schooling and those who reported the most education (some training after leaving school). The group with no schooling reported the lowest prevalence for all types of abuse - physical (24.4%), sexual (4.9%) and current abuse (2.4%).

The prevalence of abuse according to the occupational categories shows that the men with unskilled jobs reported the highest prevalence for all three types of abuse. Significant differences in prevalence were found for physical and sexual abuse, while hitting a partner in the past year was significant at the 0.10 level. As expected, significant decreasing trends were found for all the types of abuse.

No significant differences in the prevalence of the three types of abuse were found according to the type of dwelling the men lived in. Similarly, overall there were very little differences in prevalence across the household density strata, with only the use of physical violence showed a significant difference in prevalence. However, the highest prevalence of sexual violence was reported by the men living in the most overcrowded households (23.4%) while the lowest prevalence of physical abuse (34%) was reported by men living in the least crowded households. No significant trend was found.

Discussion of these findings is presented in the concluding chapter (Chapter 7) and the significance of these socio-demographic variables as risk factors for using violence against partners will be tested in Chapter 6 when multiple logistic regression analysis is applied.

Chapter 6

Risk factors for reporting use of violence

6.1 Introduction

Multiple logistic regression models were built in three consecutive steps to determine a final integrated model which best predicted the risk of a respondent using violence against an intimate partner. Sub-sets of risk factor variables were initially divided into three groups, which formed the three separate models. The first model was built from the demographic variables, and then the socio-cultural variables were added to form the second model. The variables relating to the men's individual behaviours and the female factors were added to form the final model. Unadjusted odds ratios (crude odds ratios) for each of the risk factor variables are presented for the three types of violence used. More detail on the process of model building is shown for the use of physical violence of intimate partners of the last 10 years, while only the final logistic regression models are presented for sexual and physical violence in the past year (current violence). The three final models were adjusted for interviewer effects if these were found to be significant.

6.2 Physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

6.2.1 Associations between demographic variables and the risk of reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

The associations between reporting physical abuse and age, race, education, occupation and household characteristics are shown in Table 6.1. There were significant differences between the younger age group and all the other age groups in the odds of reporting abuse, with the odds decreasing progressively as age increased which indicated that the younger age group had the strongest association with reporting physical violence (*P*-trend <0.0001).

There were differences in the association between use of physical violence and racial groups. No association with physical violence was found for African men (odds ratio (OR) 0.86, 95% confidence interval (CI) 0.67- 1.10) compared to the other men, while White men were less likely and Coloured men were more likely (OR 1.72; CI 1.36 - 2.17) to report abuse. Since education

and socio-economic status are closely linked to race in South Africa, it was considered to have a possible confounding effect (i.e. affecting the relationship between race and reporting use of physical violence). Only minimal changes in the odds ratio for race was found when controlling for the variables education and occupation (data not shown). This indicates that race was an independent variable.

Table 6.1: Relationships between age, race, education, occupation and household characteristics and reporting use of physical violence of intimate partners of last 10 years

Variable	Abuse (n = 578) n (%)	No abuse (n = 787) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Age*					
20 - 29	155 (54.6)	129 (45.4)	Ref	-	-
30 - 39	234 (46.5)	269 (53.5)	0.72	0.54 - 0.97	0.030
40 - 49	125 (37.4)	209 (62.6)	0.49	0.35 - 0.69	<0.000
50+	64 (26.2)	180 (73.8)	0.29	0.20 - 0.43	<0.000
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 49.91$ *P*-trend <0.0001					
Race					
Non African	578 (56.8)	440 (43.2)	Ref	-	-
African	139 (39.7)	211 (60.3)	0.86	0.67 - 1.10	0.252
Non Coloured/ Indian	310 (66.2)	158 (33.8)	Ref	-	-
Coloured/Indian	421 (46.8)	479 (53.2)	1.72	1.36 - 2.17	<0.000
Non White	560 (44.8)	690 (55.2)	Ref	-	-
White	19 (16.1)	99 (83.9)	0.23	0.14 - 0.39	<0.000
Education					
No Schooling	20 (24.4)	62 (75.6)	Ref	-	-
Grade 1 - Grade 7	197 (49.5)	201 (50.5)	3.03	1.75 - 5.27	<0.000
Grade 8 - Grade 10	223 (44.2)	280 (55.6)	2.48	1.44 - 4.25	<0.000
Grade 11 - Grade 12	138 (35.9)	246 (64.1)	1.74	1.00 - 3.00	0.045
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 2.11$; *P*-trend = 0.14					
No post school training	520 (46.4)	601(53.6)	Ref	-	-
Post school training	59 (23.9)	188 (76.1)	0.36	0.26 - 0.49	<0.000
Occupation					
Unskilled	353 (47.5)	390 (52.5)	Ref	-	-
Semi-skilled	84 (39.4)	129 (60.6)	0.71	0.52 - 0.98	0.037
Skilled	125 (35.8)	224 (64.2)	0.61	0.47 - 0.82	<0.000
Professional	17 (27.0)	46 (73.0)	0.40	0.22 - 0.72	0.001
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 20.58$; *P*-trend <0.000					
Type of dwelling*					
Formal	457 (41.3)	649 (58.7)	Ref	-	-
Informal	114 (46.3)	132 (53.7)	1.22	0.92 - 1.61	0.149
Household density*					
2 or fewer persons/room	326 (40.2)	485 (59.8)	Ref	-	-
Between 2.1 - 4/room	233 (46.5)	268 (53.5)	1.29	1.03 - 1.62	0.024
More than 4 /room	16 (34.1)	31 (65.9)	0.76	0.41 - 1.42	0.402

* Missing values.

There was a significant increase in the risk of reporting physical violence for men who reported any formal education compared to men who had no schooling with, the highest magnitude reported for men with the least education (Grade 1 - Grade 6: OR 3.03; CI 1.75 - 5.27) while the odds were 1.74 (95% CI 1.00 - 3.00) for those with the highest school education (Grade 10 - Grade 12). In keeping with this trend, men who received training after leaving school were significantly less likely to report use of physical violence (OR 0.36; CI 0.26 - 0.49), compared to men who had no such training.

Significant differences and a trend were found for the job categories, with the odds ratio decreasing with increasing occupation level. Compared to men who were unskilled, there was a significant decrease in the risk of reporting use of physical violence for all the other occupational groups (*P*-trend <0.0001). Those who were classified as professionals were least likely to report abuse relative to the unskilled workers (OR 0.40; CI 0.22-0.72).

No significant associations were found between reporting use of physical abuse and type of dwelling in which the men lived, while differences in associations were found for household density. Men who reported living in the most overcrowded homes did not differ from men in the least overcrowded homes (OR 0.76; 0.41 - 1.42), but a significant increase in the odds for abuse was evident in men who lived in homes in which between 2.1-4 people shared a room relative to less overcrowded homes (OR 1.29; CI 1.03 - 1.62).

The first logistic regression analysis including the demographic variables is shown in Table 6.2. Only four variables - age, race, education and receiving training after school were - associated with reporting physical violence. White men were dropped from the model because of collinearity (most likely with education), while both African and Coloured/Indian men were positively associated with the use physical violence, with Coloured/Indian men having the strongest association (OR 2.72). Both age and receiving post-school training showed strong negative associations with physical violence, and a decreased risk for reporting physical violence were associated with increasing age.

In contrast, associations with physical violence according to the educational group differed from the univariate findings. The findings show that differences in associations with abuse between

men with no schooling and those having above Grade 7 education were no longer statistically significant. In contrast, men who had between Grade 1 and Grade 7 education had a substantially greater risk of reporting physical violence compared with those with no schooling (OR 2.15; CI 1.22 - 3.77).

Table 6.2: Results of the logistic regression analysis including only demographic variables for reporting use of physical violence against partners of last 10 years: (Model 1)

Variable	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Age			
20 - 29	Ref	-	
30 - 39	0.69	0.51 - 0.94	0.019
40 - 49	0.50	0.35 - 0.70	<0.0001
50+	0.27	0.18 - 0.45	<0.0001
Race			
Non African	Ref	-	-
African	2.18	1.19 - 3.98	0.011
Non Coloured/Indian	Ref	-	-
Coloured/Indian	2.72	1.55 - 4.77	<0.0001
Education			
No schooling	Ref	-	-
Grade 1 - Grade 7	2.15	1.22 - 3.77	0.008
Grade 8 - Grade 10	1.60	0.91 - 2.82	0.102
Grade 11 - Grade 12	1.49	0.80 - 2.74	0.200
Post-school training	0.45	0.31 - 0.64	<0.0001

Model $X^2 = 131.04$; $P < 0.0001$
Log likelihood - 864.56

6.2.2 Associations between socio-cultural risk factors and risk of reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

In Table 6.3 the relationships between reporting physical violence and the variables describing the men's childhoods are shown. The findings indicate that there was no association between reporting use of physical violence and being raised in households in which both the parents were present (OR 0.80; CI 0.63 - 1.01) or in a female-headed home (OR 1.21; CI 0.94 - 1.57). Only men who reported that they had never seen their fathers were more likely to report use of physical violence (OR 1.48; CI 1.00 - 2.21), compared to men who had contact with their fathers. A significant negative relationship was found between reporting use of physical violence and reporting that their fathers had shown an interest in them, with a decrease in the odds to 0.78 (CI

0.62 - 0.98), as well as with having had both parents sharing the role of the head of the household (0.43; CI 0.21 - 0.85).

Table 6.3: Associations between childhood experiences and reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of the last 10 years

Variable	Abuse (n = 578) n (%)	No Abuse (n = 787) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Not raised by both parents	186 (46.2)	217 (53.8)	Ref	-	-
Raised by both parents	393 (40.7)	572 (59.3)	0.80	0.63 - 1.01	0.064
Not raised in a female-headed household	437 (41.2)	623 (58.8)	Ref	-	-
Raised in a female-headed household	142 (46.1)	166 (53.9)	1.21	0.94 - 1.57	0.128
Never saw father	524 (58.5)	737 (48.6)	Ref	-	-
Always saw father	55 (41.5)	52 (51.4)	1.48	1.00 - 2.21	0.047
Fathers showed interest in them	196 (46.5)	226 (53.5)	Ref	-	-
Fathers showed no interest in them	383 (40.5)	563 (59.5)	0.78	0.62 - 0.98	0.039
Did not receive hidings as a child	59 (33.0)	120 (67.0)	Ref	-	-
Received hidings as a child	517 (43.7)	666 (56.3)	1.57	1.13 - 2.20	0.007
Hidings were not frequent	455 (38.8)	718 (61.2)	Ref	-	-
Hidings were frequent	124 (63.6)	71 (36.4)	2.75	2.01 - 3.77	<0.000
Father was not the head of the home	219 (43.7)	282 (56.3)	Ref	-	-
Father was the head of the home	360 (41.5)	507 (58.5)	0.91	0.73 - 1.14	0.429
Both mother and father did not share the head of the home	568 (42.9)	755 (57.1)	Ref	-	-
Both mother and father shared the head of home	11 (24.4)	34 (75.6)	0.43	0.21 - 0.85	0.013
Did not witness mother's abuse	378 (36.1)	668 (63.9)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed mother's abuse	201 (62.4)	121 (37.6)	2.93	2.25 - 3.82	<0.000
Did not witness abuse	386 (36.4)	674 (63.6)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed abuse weekly	47 (60.3)	31 (39.7)	2.64	1.64 - 4.25	<0.000
Witnessed abuse monthly	28 (73.7)	10 (26.3)	4.88	2.33 -10.25	<0.000
Witnessed abuse occasionally	93 (61.6)	58 (38.4)	2.79	1.96 - 3.99	<0.000
Witnessed abuse once	25 (61.0)	16 (39.0)	2.72	1.43 - 5.19	0.001

Receiving hidings as a child (OR 1.57; CI 1.13 - 2.20) as well as reporting having frequent hidings (OR 2.75; CI 2.01- 3.77) were both positively associated with reporting use of physical violence. A strong positive relationship was found between reporting using physical violence and witnessing their mothers being abused during their childhood. Men who reported this had a higher

odds ratio of 2.93 (CI 2.25 - 3.83) relative to men who did not witness such abuse as a child. There was also a significant positive association between reporting using physical violence and the frequency of witnessing violence against their mother relative to not witnessing this abuse as a child. The strength of the risk ratio was similar for the different frequencies except for in those who viewed it on a monthly basis, who had the strongest risk (OR 4.88, CI 2.33 - 10.25).

6.2.2.1 Associations between acceptance of violence, gender roles in relationships and reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

The associations between using physical violence and acceptance of the use of violence in various scenarios and views on gender roles in relationships are presented in Table 6.4. A strong positive association was found between the men's justification of hitting women in certain circumstances and their use of violence. Overall men who said it were justifiable to hit women were much more likely to report using physical violence (CI 4.66 - 7.78).

Table 6.4: Association between views on acceptability of violence, gender roles and reporting the use of physical violence against intimate partners of the last 10 years

Variable	Abuse (n = 578) n (%)	No abuse (n = 787) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
No reasons given for why it's acceptable to hit women	284 (29.7)	673 (70.3)	Ref	-	-
Reasons given for why it's acceptable to hit women	295 (71.8)	116 (28.2)	6.02	4.66 - 7.78	<0.0001
Score on men's views on gender roles in relationships					
Had more than two items supporting gender inequity (scored < 81%)	527 (44.0)	760 (56.0)	Ref	-	-
Had fewer than 2 items supporting inequity (scored >81%)	52 (30.4)	119 (69.6)	0.55	0.39 - 0.78	<0.0001
Score on violence acceptability					
Use of violence **not acceptable** in any of the situations	26 (22.2)	91 (77.8)	Ref	-	-
Use of violence acceptable in 1 of the scenarios	122 (34.4)	233 (65.6)	1.83	1.12 - 2.99	0.014
Use of violence acceptable in > 1 of the scenarios	431 (48.1)	465 (51.9)	3.24	2.04 - 5.14	<0.0001

In the methods chapter (Chapter 3) the validation of the scales was discussed and explanations given as to why further factor analysis was not required. To facilitate interpretation of these

scales, they were grouped into meaningful categories. The analysis showed a positive relationship between use of physical violence and the acceptance of violent behaviour. Men who accepted the use of violence in more than one scenario were more likely to report physical abuse (OR 3.24, CI 2.04 - 5.14). Findings on the men's views on gender relations showed that men who scored better (i.e. had a score of 81% or more and had less than 2 items that supported gender inequity) were less likely to report abuse relative to men who had 2 or more that items which agreed with gender inequity. The findings suggest that the higher the men scored (indicating more equitable gender views), the less likely they were to report using physical abuse.

Men who reported belonging to a religion were asked about being active in their religious activities. The findings showed (data not shown here) that being active in religious activities was a protective factor, with the odds of reporting use of abuse 0.59 (CI 0.47-0.73; $P<0.0001$) relative to men not belonging to nor active in religion.

Table 6.5: Results of logistic regression analysis including demographic, socio-cultural and childhood variables for reporting use of physical violence against partners of last 10 years: (Model 2)

Variable	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Age			
20 - 29 years	Ref	-	-
30 - 39 years	0.77	0.55 - 1.08	0.136
40 - 49 years	0.54	0.37 - 0.79	0.001
50+ years	0.33	0.22 - 0.51	<0.0001
Race			
Non Coloured/Indian men	Ref	-	-
Coloured/Indian men	2.04	1.51 - 2.75	<0.0001
Received post school training	0.48	0.33 - 0.70	<0.0001
Childhood experiences			
Frequent hidings during childhood	2.34	1.62 - 3.37	<0.0001
Witnessed mother's abuse during childhood	2.14	1.58 - 2.88	<0.0001
Use of violence **not acceptable** in any of the scenarios	Ref	-	-
Use of violence acceptable in 1 of the scenarios	1.70	0.99 - 2.90	0.053
Use of violence acceptable in >1 of the scenarios	1.99	1.20 - 3.30	0.007
Reasons given as to why its acceptable to hit women	6.36	4.69 - 8.60	<0.0001
Model $X^2 = 385.34$; $P<0.0001$			
Log likelihood -737.40			

Table 6.5 shows the 2nd logistic regression model after socio-cultural co-variates were added to

the first model. Older age and training after school remained negatively associated with use of physical violence. Associations related to racial categories differed from the 1st model, with only Coloured/Indian men remaining positively associated with the use of violence (OR 2.04; CI 1.51 - 2.75). Of the childhood experiences, receiving frequent hidings and witnessing their mother's abuse were the only two remaining variables which were positively associated with the use physical violence. The acceptance of use of violence in just one scenario approached borderline significance, while accepting it's use in more than one was positively associated with actual use of physical violence. Lastly, the variable measuring justification for hitting women remained strongly positively associated with the reporting of use of physical violence (OR 6.3; CI 4.6 - 8.6).

6.2.3 Associations between mens behaviours and life experiences and reporting the use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

The unadjusted odds ratios for the association between mens behaviours and life experience variables and use of physical violence are shown in Table 6.6. Overall there was a positive association between alcohol use and reporting physical violence. There was a difference in the strength of the association between men who reported using alcohol currently and those who had used it in the past, with a stronger association for current drinking (OR 2.64; CI 1.98 - 3.54). An even stronger association was found between use of physical violence and reporting that their alcohol use had created problems in relationships (OR 3.56; CI 2.71 - 4.49). Similarly, drug use was also positively associated with reporting physical violence, with a similarly less strong association for men who reported having used drugs in the past.

Most of the variables measuring criminal activities were positively associated with reporting violence, with gang membership having the strongest association (OR 4.7; CI 2.30 - 3.79). The associations with use of violence differed according to reasons given for arrests. While positive associations found between physical violence and arrests related to violent behaviour, a negative relationship was found for arrests related to political activities (OR 0.51; CI 0.28 - 0.93).

There was no association between work related frustrations and the use of violence (OR 1.11; CI 0.89 - 1.37). Having more than one current partner was positively associated with violence (OR 3.03; CI 2.23 - 4.11), however, verbal abuse had the strongest positive association with physical violence with an odds ratio of 10.66 (CI 8.15 - 13.94).

Table 6.6: Association between mens' behaviours and life experiences and reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of the last 10 years

Variable	Abuse (n = 578) n (%)	No abuse (n = 787) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Do not drink alcohol	85 (26.6)	234 (73.3)	Ref	-	-
Drank alcohol in the past	109 (41.3)	155 (58.7)	1.93	1.35 - 2.75	<0.0001
Drinks alcohol currently	385 (49.0)	400 (50.1)	2.64	1.98 - 3.54	<0.0001
Drinking alcohol did not create problems	386 (35.8)	692 (64.2)	Ref	-	-
Drinking alcohol created problems	193 (66.6)	97 (33.4)	3.56	2.71 - 4.49	<0.0001
Does not use drugs	424 (37.6)	705 (62.4)	Ref	-	-
Used in the past	42 (58.3)	30 (41.7)	2.32	2.07 - 3.88	<0.0001
Uses currently	113 (67.7)	54 (32.3)	3.47	2.87 - 7.77	<0.0001
Did not belong to a gang	510 (40.0)	765 (60.0)	Ref	-	-
Belonged to a gang	69 (75.8)	22 (24.2)	4.7	2.30 - 3.37	<0.0001
Not ever arrested by police	265 (35.1)	491 (64.9)	Ref	-	-
Arrested by police	314 (51.3)	298 (48.7)	1.95	1.57 - 2.42	<0.0001
No arrests	265 (35.1)	491 (64.9)	Ref	-	-
One arrest	196 (47.7)	215 (52.3)	1.68	1.32 - 1.16	<0.0001
More than one arrest	118 (58.7)	83 (41.3)	2.63	1.90 - 3.64	<0.0001
Reasons for arrests*					
For violence against women	28 (65.1)	15 (34.9)	2.62	1.38 - 4.95	<0.0001
For violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs	203 (57.3)	151 (42.7)	2.28	1.78 - 2.91	<0.0001
For political activities	16 (28.1)	41 (71.9)	0.51	0.28 - 0.93	0.029
For theft	74 (57.8)	54 (42.2)	1.99	1.37 - 2.88	<0.0001
For possession of weapon	12 (42.9)	16 (57.1)	1.02	0.47 - 2.17	0.954
Have not been to jail	337 (35.8)	605 (64.2)	Ref	-	-
Have been to jail	242 (56.8)	184 (43.2)	2.36	1.86 - 2.98	<0.0001
Time in jail**					
Less than a month	168 (56.4)	126 (43.6)	2.36	1.80 - 3.11	<0.0001
1 - 6 months	39 (62.9)	23 (37.1)	3.05	1.78 - 5.22	<0.0001
More than 6 months	40 (53.3)	35 (46.7)	2.05	1.27 - 3.30	0.002
Not frustrated at work	304 (41.1)	435 (58.9)	Ref	-	-
Frustrated at work	275 (43.7)	354 (56.3)	1.11	0.89 - 1.37	0.335
Not involved in a fight at work	452 (38.6)	718 (61.4)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight at work	127 (64.1)	71 (35.9)	2.84	2.07- 3.88	<0.0001
Not involved in a fight in home/community	357 (35.4)	652 (64.6)	Ref	-	-
Involve in fight in home/community	222 (61.8)	137 (38.2)	2.9	2.30 - 3.79	<0.000
Only one current partner	439 (38.1)	714 (61.9)	Ref	-	-
>1 current partner	140 (65.1)	75 (34.9)	3.03	2.23 - 4.11	<0.0001
Verbally abusive tactics not reported in relationships	91 (14.8)	525 (85.2)	Ref	-	-
Verbally abusive tactics reported	488 (64.9)	264 (35.1)	10.66	8.15 - 13.94	<0.0001

* The reference category for the reason for arrest is not having reported that particular reason.
** The reference category for time in jail is having not spent any time in jail.

6.2.4 Association between female partner and relationship characteristics and reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

In Table 6.7 the association between use of physical violence and female partner and relationship co-varaites are shown. The variables are from current partners only (n = 1314). In the case of more than one current partner, the first partner mentioned by the men was included. Compared to wives, being a girlfriend was associated with physical violence with cohabiting girlfriends having the strongest association (OR 3.19; CI 2.10-14.84). Age, employment and salary earned by the female partner were not associated with violence while their education was. Having both a higher or a lower level of education than the male partner compared to having the same level of education was positively associated with the violence. No association with physical violence was found for having children with the partner but a decrease in risk for the use of physical violence was associated with having 3 or more children compared to having 2 or less children (OR 0.73; CI 0.57 - 0.94). The women's use of alcohol and reporting that its use created problems in relationship was positively association with the violence. The female partner's use of drugs also increased the risk for violence but the Confidence Intervals were very wide (OR 8.31; CI 0.99-69.60). Not surprisingly, having a good relationship with a female partner substantially decreased the risk for the use of violence (OR 0.28; CI 0.15-0.50), while reporting seldom or no conflict relative to reporting daily conflicts decreased the risk of using violence. Interestingly, no difference in association was found between conflicts happening daily, weekly and monthly. All the reasons given for why conflict happened were positively associated with the use of violence. The strongest association were related to suspicions of infidelity with a five-times greater risk for use of violence if either partner was suspected of having other relationships (for women the suspicion was based on whether she was seen speaking to other men).

Table 6.7: Association between female partner and relationship characteristics and reporting use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

Variable	Abuse (n=555)* n (%)	No abuse (n = 789)* n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
The partner was a wife	385 (37.9)	631 (62.1)	Ref	-	-
Partner was a living with a girlfriend	74 (66.1)	38 (33.9)	3.19	2.10 - 4.84	<0.0001
Partner was a non-living with girlfriend	96 (51.6)	90 (48.4)	1.74	1.27 - 2.39	0.000
Less than 1 year together	51 (48.1)	55 (51.9)	Ref	-	-
1 - 5 years together	146 (53.7)	126 (46.3)	1.24	0.79 - 1.96	0.331
> 5 years together	382 (38.6)	608 (61.4)	0.67	0.45 - 1.01	0.056
Same age as partner	54 (44.3)	68 (55.7)	Ref	-	-
Partner was younger	383 (41.8)	533 (58.2)	0.90	0.61 - 1.32	0.60
Partner was older	117 (42.7)	157 (67.3)	0.93	0.61 - 1.44	0.77
Had the same level of education	98 (32.9)	200 (67.1)	Ref	-	-
Partner was less educated	160 (44.6)	199 (55.4)	1.64	1.18 - 2.26	0.002
Partner was more educated	273 (44.2)	345 (55.8)	1.61	1.20 - 2.16	0.001
Partner was employed	257 (42.1)	353 (57.9)	0.99	0.79 - 1.24	0.972
Earned the same salary	22 (43.1)	29 (56.9)	Ref	-	-
Partner earned less	185 (45.0)	226 (55.0)	1.07	0.59 - 1.94	0.799
Partner earned more	43 (34.4)	82 (65.6)	0.69	0.35 - 1.35	0.277
Had children with the partner	422 (41.1)	606 (58.9)	0.80	0.61 - 1.04	0.098
Had 2 or fewer children	236 (44.7)	292 (55.3)	Ref	-	-
Had 3 or more children	188 (37.3)	316 (62.7)	0.73	0.57 - 0.94	0.015
Partner used alcohol	161 (59.0)	112 (41.0)	2.36	1.79 - 3.11	<0.0001
Her alcohol use was problematic	78 (82.1)	17 (17.9)	5.44	2.87 - 10.30	<0.0001
Partner used drugs	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	8.31	0.99 - 69.60	0.019
Had good relationships	504 (40.7)	735 (59.3)	0.28	0.15 - 0.50	<0.0001
Frequency of conflicts					
Daily	20 (69.0)	9 (31.0)	Ref	-	-
Weekly	76 (71.7)	30 (28.3)	1.14	0.46 - 2.79	0.774
At least once a month	140 (58.1)	101 (41.9)	0.62	0.27 - 1.43	0.261
Seldom	290 (39.6)	442 (60.4)	0.29	0.13 - 0.66	0.001
Never	29 (14.1)	177 (85.9)	0.07	0.02 - 0.19	<0.0001
Reasons for conflicts					
When she suspects him of infidelity	292 (72.3)	112 (27.7)	5.23	3.91 - 6.99	<0.0001
When he suspects her of infidelity	131 (78.4)	36 (21.6)	5.02	3.35 - 7.54	<0.0001
When she does not want to have sex	143 (76.5)	44 (23.5)	4.56	3.13 - 6.65	<0.0001
His alcohol and drug use	223 (71.9)	87 (28.1)	4.18	3.10 - 5.65	<0.0001
When she is cheeky/'sits on his head	317 (65.9)	164 (34.1)	3.86	2.96 - 5.04	<0.0001
Household finances	223 (60.6)	145 (39.4)	2.22	1.71 - 2.88	<0.0001
When she demands more time	243 (54.4)	204 (45.6)	1.59	1.24 - 2.02	0.000
About children	202 (54.0)	172 (46.0)	1.48	1.15 - 1.91	0.001
About in-laws	183 (58.5)	130 (41.5)	1.85	1.42 - 2.42	<0.0001

* Data do not always add up to 1314 because of missing data for female partners

6.2.5 The final model for use of physical violence against intimate partners of last 10 years

In Table 6.8 the final logistic regression model for use of physical violence against partners of last 10 years is presented after the addition of the mens behaviour, men's life experiences, female partner and relationship co-variates. The model was adjusted for 'interviewer effects' because they were found to be significant ($P<0.0001$). Both the adjusted and the unadjusted models are presented. In general, the two models were similar with minimal changes in the adjusted model. These were small changes in the sizes of most of the odds ratios and two co-variates were no longer statistical significant at the 0.05 level, i.e. frequent hidings during childhood and female partner having less education than male partners. This final model presents 36.8 % of the risk variance for reporting physical violence.

Post-school education remained an important predictor of violence with higher levels of education being a protective factor. Coloured/Indian men were also more at risk of reporting the abuse compared to men of the other race groups. Being active in church was negatively association with the violence. Childhood experiences of violence such as having witnessed their mothers' abuse and having received frequent hidings were positively associated with the use of physical violence. Being involved in fights at the workplace, current use of alcohol, reporting that alcohol use created problems in relationships and current drug use remained predictors of violence. The two strongest predictors of the use of physical violence were justification of the use of violence against partners, and use of verbal abuse during arguments with partners.

The influence of the female partner and relationship co-variates was interesting. Their level of education was positively association with the use of violence with both having less and more education being associated with greater risk. Similarly, the use of alcohol by the partner increased the risk. In addition four reasons for conflict with the partners remained positively associated with the use of the violence. These were related to conflicts about sex, suspicions about infidelity of either of the partners as well as when a female partner was perceived by the men as 'sitting on his head".

Table 6.8: Results of logistic regression analysis for the final integrated model for reporting the use of physical violence against partners of last 10 years: showing both unadjusted and adjusted models for interviewer effect (Model 3)

The use of physical violence of intimate partner of last 10 years	Unadjusted for interviewers			Adjusted for interviewers		
	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Coloured/Indian men	2.29	1.50 - 3.51	<0.0001	2.25	1.38 - 3.68	0.001
Received post school training	0.39	0.25 - 0.61	<0.0001	0.42	0.26 - 0.66	<0.0001
Frequent hidings as child	1.65	1.02 - 2.65	0.038	**1.57**	**0.97 - 2.55**	**0.063**
Witnessed mother's abuse	1.73	1.18 - 2.54	0.004	1.81	1.23 - 2.67	0.002
Involved in a fight at work	2.52	1.59 - 4.00	<0.0001	2.58	1.62 - 4.12	<0.0001
Use of alcohol created problems	1.65	1.10 - 2.46	0.014	1.72	1.14 - 2.59	0.009
Reasons for hitting a woman (or justified hitting)	3.75	2.53 - 5.54	<0.0001	3.75	2.51 - 5.59	<0.0001
Active in religious activities	0.55	0.39 - 0.78	0.001	0.53	0.37 - 0.76	0.001
Verbally abusive tactics used during conflict with a partner	3.88	2.70 - 5.58	<0.0001	3.86	2.66 - 5.62	<0.0001
Partner less educated than man	1.63	1.04 - 2.56	0.033	**1.56**	**0.99 - 2.46**	**0.052**
Partner more educated than man	1.72	1.14 - 2.60	0.010	1.69	1.11 - 2.56	0.014
Partner uses alcohol	2.04	1.34 - 3.08	0.001	2.03	1.33 - 3.10	0.001
Conflict about sex	2.10	1.32 - 3.32	0.002	2.01	1.26 - 3.21	0.003
Conflict over his infidelity	2.17	1.53 - 3.07	<0.0001	2.16	1.52 - 3.09	<0.0001
Conflict over her infidelity	1.97	1.21 - 3.21	0.006	1.96	1.19 - 3.21	0.008
Conflict when she "sits on his head"	1.63	1.15 - 2.31	0.005	1.57	1.11 - 2.24	0.011
Log Likelihood	-469.28			Log Likelihood	-467.07	
LR Chi	546.49			Wald Chi	261.90	
P value	<0.0001			*P* value	<0.0001	
Psuedo R2	36.80					

6.3 Physical violence in the past year

The risk factor analysis for current use of physical violence is limited by the small number of cases reported for some of the variables. For example, only 2 men who reported current physical violence also reported no formal schooling. Despite this limitation, the presentation of the crude odds ratios of all the variables continue to be useful since it provides an overview of the process of risk factor analysis and the basis of model building.

The associations between the use of physical violence in the past year (also referred to as current physical violence) and the demographic variables are presented in Table 6.9. As shown in the earlier analysis of the use of physical violence of partners of the last 10 years (Table 6.1), a similar association between age and current use of violence was found, with younger men at greater risk for reporting current violence. In contrast to the analysis of physical abuse within the 10 years, only White men showed significant negative associations with current physical violence, while African and Coloured/Indian men showed no associations with current violence.

Those who had some education (between Grades1- 10) were positively associated with current physical violence while no association was found for men who had above Grade 10 education. Having post-school training was negatively associated with current use of physical violence (OR 0.34; CI 0.17 - 0.68) as it was with its use within the last 10 years. Associations between current physical violence and occupational categories approached borderline significance for the semi-skilled and the skilled categories in comparison with unskilled workers. No difference in association was found for the men who had professional jobs. In addition, no associations were found between the reporting of current physical violence and the type of house men lived in and the density of the household.

Table 6.9: Relationships between the use of physical violence in the past year and age, race, education, occupation and household characteristics

Variable	Abuse (n = 120) n (%)	No abuse (n = 1248) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Age					
20 - 29	42 (14.8)	242 (85.2)	Ref	-	-
30 - 39	48 (9.5)	455 (90.5)	0.60	0.38 - 0.94	0.026
40 - 49	21 (6.3)	313 (93.7)	0.38	0.22 - 0.67	<0.0001
50 +	9 (3.7)	235 (96.3)	0.22	0.10 - 0.46	<0.0001
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 22.81$ *P*-trend <0.000					
Race					
Non African	85 (8.3)	933 (91.7)	Ref	-	-
African	35 (10.0)	315 (90.0)	1.21	0.80 - 1.84	0.347
Non Coloured/ Indian	37 (7.9)	431 (92.1)	Ref	-	-
Coloured/Indian	83 (9.2)	817 (90.8)	1.18	0.78 - 1.77	0.415
Non White	118 (9.4)	1132 (90.6)	Ref	-	-
White	2 (1.7)	817 (90.8)	0.16	0.04 - 0.67	0.012
Education					
No Schooling	2 (2.4)	80 (97.6)	Ref	-	-
Grade 1 - Grade 7	37 (9.3)	361 (90.7)	4.09	0.96 - 17.50	0.038
Grade 8 - Grade 10	56 (11.1)	448 (88.9)	5.00	1.18 - 21.08	0.014
Grade 10 - Grade 12	25 (6.5)	359 (93.5)	2.78	0.64 - 12.05	0.152
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 0.96$ *P*-trend < 0.000					
No post-school training	111 (9.9)	1010 (90.1)	Ref	-	-
Post-school training	9 (3.6)	238 (96.4)	0.34	0.17 - 0.68	0.003
Occupation					
Unskilled	79 (10.6)	664 (89.4)	Ref	-	-
Semi-skilled	13 (6.1)	200 (93.9)	0.54	0.29 - 1.01	0.048
Skilled	24 (6.9)	325 (93.1)	0.62	0.38 - 0.99	0.047
Professional	4 (6.3)	59 (93.7)	0.56	0.20 - 1.61	0.283
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 5.34$; *P*-trend = 0.209					
Type of dwelling					
Formal	90 (8.1)	1016 (91.9)	Ref	-	-
Informal	25 (10.2)	221 (89.8)	1.27	0.80 - 2.03	0.304
Household density					
2 or fewer persons/room	62 (7.6)	749 (92.4)	Ref	-	-
Between 2.1 - 4/room	61 (10.2)	450 (89.8)	1.36	0.92 - 2.02	0.112
More than 4/room	5 (10.6)	42 (89.4)	1.43	0.54 - 3.70	0.457

In Table 6.10 the associations between current violence and the men's childhood experiences are shown. Few significant associations were found.

Table 6.10: Associations between reporting the use of physical violence in the past year and childhood experiences

Variable	Abuse (n = 120) n (%)	No Abuse (n = 1248) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Not raised by both parents	42 (10.4)	361 (89.6)	Ref	-	-
Raised by both parents	78 (8.1)	887 (91.9)	0.75	0.50 - 1.12	0.164
Not raised in a female-headed household	90 (8.5)	970 (91.5)	Ref	-	-
Raised in a female-headed household	30 (9.7)	278 (90.3)	1.16	0.73 - 1.79	0.495
Never saw father	108 (8.6)	1153 (91.4)	Ref	-	-
Always saw father	12 (11.2)	95 (88.8)	1.34	0.71 - 2.53	0.354
Fathers showed interest in them	41 (9.7)	381 (90.3)	Ref	-	-
Fathers showed no interest in them	79 (8.3)	867 (91.6)	0.84	0.56 - 1.25	0.410
Did not receive hidings as a child	12 (6.7)	167 (93.3)	Ref	-	-
Received hidings as a child	108 (9.1)	1075 (90.9)	1.39	0.75 - 2.59	0.288
Hidings were not frequent	95 (8.1)	1078 (91.9)	Ref	-	-
Hidings were frequent	25 (12.8)	170 (87.2)	1.66	1.04 - 2.66	0.032
Father was not the head of the home	49 (9.8)	452 (90.2)	Ref	-	-
Father was the head of the home	71 (8.2)	791 (91.8)	0.82	0.56 - 1.20	0.317
Both mother and father did not share the head of the home	116 (8.8)	1207 (91.2)	Ref	-	-
Both mother and father shared the head of the home	4 (8.9)	41 (91.1)	1.01	0.35 - 2.88	0.978
Did not witness mother's abuse	78 (7.5)	968 (92.5)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed mother's abuse	42 (13.0)	280 (87.0)	1.86	1.25 - 2.77	0.002
Did not witness mother's abuse	80 (7.5)	980 (92.5)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed abuse weekly	15 (19.2)	63 (80.8)	2.9	1.58 - 5.37	<0.0001
Witnessed abuse monthly	3 (7.9)	35 (92.1)	1.05	0.31 - 3.49	0.936
Witnessed abuse occasionally	15 (9.9)	136 (90.1)	1.35	0.75 - 2.41	0.307
Witnessed abuse once	7 (17.1)	14 (82.9)	2.52	1.08 - 5.88	0.081
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 4.80$ *P*-trend = 0.028					

The frequency of physical punishment as a child was associated with current use of physical violence the odds of reporting such abuse 1.66 (CI 1.04 - 2.66) compared to men who did not report such frequent punishment. A significant positive association was also found for witnessing the mother's abuse during childhood (OR 1.86 CI 1.25 - 2.77); witnessing this abuse as often as weekly was also positively associated with this form of violence, while witnessing it less frequently was not.

In Table 6.11 associations between physical violence in the past year and views on violence and gender roles are shown. Although reaching borderline significance - men who scored better, i.e. had less than 2 gender inequitable answers, were less likely to report current violence (OR 0.47; CI 0.22 - 0.99) - no significant associations were found between use of current violence and their accepting of violence in general. Men who gave reasons to hit women were more than 4 times more likely to report current use of violence relative to men who did not report such justifications.

Table 6.11: Associations between the use of physical violence in the past year and views on violence and gender roles

Variable	Abuse (n = 120) n (%)	No Abuse (n =1248) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
No reasons given as to why it's acceptable to hit women	46 (4.8)	911 (95.2)	Ref	-	-
Reasons given as to why it's acceptable to hit women	74 (18.0)	337 (82.0)	4.34	2.94 - 6.41	<0.0001
Score on men's views on gender roles in relationships					
Had more than 2 items supporting gender inequity (scored < 81%)	112 (9.4)	1085 (90.6)	Ref	-	-
Had less than 2 items supporting gender inequity (scored >81%)	8 (4.7)	163 (95.3)	0.47	0.22 - 0.99	0.05
Score on violence acceptability					
Use of violence **not acceptable** in any of the scenarios	7 (6.0)	110 (94.0)	Ref	-	-
Use of violence acceptable in 1 of the scenarios	16 (4.5)	339 (95.5)	0.74	0.29 - 1.85	0.520
Use of violence acceptable in > 1 of the scenarios	97 (10.8)	799 (89.2)	1.90	0.86 - 4.22	0.104

In Table 6.12 associations between current violence and interpersonal factors are presented. There was an increased risk of reporting current violence for men who reported drinking alcohol currently as well as for those who reported that their alcohol drinking created problems in their relationships. Similarly, current drug use was also positively associated with current violence. However, few significant associations were found between criminal activities and current violence. The only significant association was for those men who reported that they has been arrested as a result of their violence against women. In addition, significant positive associations were found between current violence and reporting fighting at work (OR 2.28 CI 2.07 - 3.88) and fighting in the community (OR 2.95 CI 2.30 - 3.79), as well as with having more than one current partner (OR 3.03 (CI 2.23 - 4.11). A strong association was found between current violence and the use of verbally abusive tactics during conflict (OR 10.66 CI 8.15 - 13.95) similar to the finding for having used physical violence in the past 10 years reported earlier.

Table 6.12: Associations between reporting physical violence in the past year and interpersonal variables

	Abuse (n = 120) n (%)	No abuse (n = 1248) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Does not drink alcohol	13 (4.1)	306 (95.9)	Ref	-	-
Drank alcohol in the past	16 (6.1)	248 (93.9)	1.50	0.71 - 3.22	0.272
Drinks alcohol currently	91 (11.6)	694 (88.4)	3.08	1.69 - 5.62	<0.0001
No problem drinking	77 (7.1)	1001 (92.8)	Ref	-	-
Problem drinking	43 (14.8)	77 (85.2)	2.26	1.51 - 3.37	<0.0001
Does not use drugs	88 (7.8)	1041 (92.2)	Ref	-	-
Used in the past	7 (9.7)	65 (90.3)	1.27	0.56 - 2.86	0.557
Uses currently	25 (15.0)	142 (85.0)	2.08	1.28 - 3.37	0.002
Did not belong to a gang	107 (8.4)	1170 (91.6)	Ref	-	-
Belonged to a gang	13 (14.3)	78 (85.7)	1.82	0.98 - 3.38	0.058
Never arrested by police	58 (7.7)	1170 (91.6)	Ref	-	-
Arrested by police	62 (14.3)	78 (85.7)	1.35	0.93 - 1.97	0.111
No arrests	58 (7.7)	698 (92.3)	Ref		
One arrest	39 (9.5)	370 (90.5)	1.26	0.82 - 1.94	0.272
More than one arrest	23 (11.3)	180 (88.7)	1.53	0.92 - 2.56	0.096
Reasons for arrests*					
For violence against women	10 (23.3)	33 (76.7)	3.34	1.60 - 6.97	0.001
For violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs	38 (10.7)	316 (89.3)	1.36	0.91 - 2.04	0.131
For political activities	1 (1.8)	56 (98.2)	0.17	0.24 - 1.30	0.089
For theft	14 (10.9)	114 (89.1)	1.31	0.72 - 2.36	0.364
For possession of weapon	4 (14.3)	24 (85.7)	1.75	0.59 - 5.15	0.304
Have not been to jail	80 (8.5)	862 (91.5)	Ref	-	-
Have been to jail	40 (9.4)	386 (90.6)	1.11	0.74 - 1.00	0.052
Time in jail**					
Less than a month	24 (8.3)	265 (91.7)	0.97	0.60 - 1.57	0.919
1 - 6 months	8 (12.9)	54 (87.1)	1.59	0.73 - 3.47	0.234
More than 6 months	8 (10.7)	67 (89.3)	1.28	0.59 - 2.77	0.519
Not frustrated at work	75 (10.1)	664 (89.9)	Ref	-	-
Frustrated at work	45 (7.2)	584 (92.8)	0.68	0.46 - 1.00	0.052
Not involved in a fight at work	98 (8.4)	1072 (91.6)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight at work	22 (11.1)	176 (88.9)	2.28	2.07 - 3.88	<0.0001
Not involved in a fight in home/community	70 (6.9)	939 (93.1)	Ref	-	-
Involve in a fight in home/community	50 (13.9)	309 (86.1)	2.95	2.30 - 3.79	<0.0001
Only one current partner	81 (7.0)	1072 (93.0)	Ref	-	-
>1 current partner	39 (18.1)	176 (81.9)	3.03	2.23 - 4.11	<0.0001
Verbally abusive tactics not reported in relationships	10 (1.6)	606 (98.4)	Ref	-	-
Verbally abusive tactics reported	110 (14.6)	642 (85.4)	10.66	8.15 - 13.95	<0.0001

* The reference category for the reason for arrest is not having reported that particular reason.
** The reference category for time in jail is having not spent any time in jail.

Table 6.13: Associations between reporting physical violence within the past year and female partner and relationship variables

Variable	Abuse (n = 117)* n (%)	No abuse (n = 1197)* n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Wife	68 (6.7)	948 (93.3)	Ref	-	-
Living with girlfriend	30 (26.8)	82 (73.2)	5.10	3.10 - 8.32	<0.0001
Girlfriend	19 (10.2)	167 (89.8)	1.58	0.92 - 2.70	0.088
Less than 1 year together	9 (8.5)	97 (91.5)	Ref	-	-
1 - 5 years together	42 (15.4)	230 (84.6)	1.96	0.91 - 4.21	0.076
> 5 years together	69 (7.0)	921 (93)	0.80	0.39 - 1.66	0.562
Same age as partner	11(9.0)	111 (91.0)	Ref	-	-
Partner was younger	79 (8.6)	837 (91.4)	0.95	0.49 - 1.84	0.794
Partner was older	27 (9.8)	247 (90.2)	1.10	0.52 - 2.30	0.885
Had the same level of education	22 (7.4)	276 (92.6)	Ref	-	-
Partner was less educated	35 (9.7)	324 (90.3)	1.31	0.74 - 2.29	0.486
Partner was more educated	53 (8.6)	565 (91.4)	1.20	0.71 - 2.01	0.340
Partner was employed	49 (8.1)	561 (91.9)	0.81	0.55 - 1.19	0.291
Earned the same salary	4 (7.8)	47 (92.2)	Ref	-	-
Partner earned less	36 (8.8	375 (91.2)	1.12	0.38 - 3.31	0.826
Partner earned more	8 (6.4))	117 (93.6)	0.80	0.22 - 2.80	0.731
Had children with the partner	88 (8.6)	940 (91.4)	0.82	0.53 - 1.29	0.406
Had 2 or fewer children	23 (4.6)	481 (95.4)	Ref	-	-
Had 3 or more children	481 (95.4)	464 (87.2)	0.35	0.21 - 0.57	<0.0001
Partner used alcohol	42 (15.4)	231 (84.6)	2.34	1.55 - 3.51	<0.0001
Her alcohol use was problematic	23 (24.2)	72 (75.8)	3.10	1.51 - 6.01	0.001
Partner used drugs	2 (28.6)	5 (71.4)	4.12	0.78 - 21.54	0.068
Had good relationships	101 (8.2)	1138 (91.8)	0.3	0.15 - 0.59	0.001
Frequency of conflicts					
Daily	8 (27.6)	21 (72.4)	Ref	-	-
Weekly	24 (22.6)	82 (77.4)	0.72	0.28- 1.86	0.505
At least once a month	27 (11.2)	214 (88.8)	0.33	0.13-0.83	0.013
Seldom	55 (7.5)	677 (92.5)	0.21	0.09-0.51	0.001
Never	3 (1.5)	203 (98.5)	0.03	0.00-0.18	<0.0001
Reasons for conflicts					
When he is suspected of infidelity	72 (17.8)	332 (82.2)	4.05	2.62 - 6.25	<0.0001
When she is cheeky/'sits on his head	82 (17.1)	399 (82.9)	3.82	2.47 - 5.91	<0.0001
Her suspected infidelity	42 (25.2)	125 (74.8)	3.41	2.26 - 5.15	<0.0001
His alcohol and drug use	56 (18.1)	254 (81.9)	2.81	1.88 - 4.19	<0.0001
When she does not want to have sex	37 (19.8)	150 (80.2)	2.69	1.74 - 4.16	<0.0001
Household finances	58 (15.8)	310 (84.2)	2.28	1.54 - 3.39	<0.0001
When she demands more time	63 (14.1)	384 (85.9)	1.96	1.32 - 2.90	0.001
About children	47 (12.6)	327 (87.4)	1.43	0.09 - 2.12	0.074
About in-laws	42 (13.4)	271 (86.6)	1.55	1.03 - 2.33	0.032

* Data do not always add up to 1314 because of missing data for female partners

The association between the female variables and hitting a partner within the previous year is shown in Table 6.13. No association between hitting a partner in the past year and the women's

age, education and employment variables were found. There was however a five times greater risk for hitting a partner within the past year if the girlfriends were co-habiting (OR 5.1; CI 3.10-8.32). Similar to the results of the physical violence in Table 6.8, having many children and good relationships with the partner was protective against the violence while the partners' use of alcohol was an important predictor of the violence in the past year. The risks associated with conflicts were similar to the physical violence of partners of 10 years. There was no difference in association between daily and weekly occurrence of conflict and the risk decreased as the conflict became less frequent. In addition the reasons for conflict were also similar to the earlier physical violence findings but the magnitudes of the estimates were lower for current use of violence.

Table 6.14: Results of logistic regression model for reporting physical violence in the past year: showing both unadjusted and adjusted models for interviewer effects

Having hit a partner within the last year	Unadjusted for interviewers			Adjusted for interviewers		
	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value	Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Received post school training	0.28	0.10 - 0.74	0.11	0.33	0.12 - 0.89	0.030
Verbally abuse during conflict	4.29	1.98 - 9.29	<0.0001	3.56	1.58 - 7.97	0.002
A living in girlfriend	3.30	1.61 - 6.78	0.001	3.27	1.57 - 6.82	0.001
3 or more children with partner	0.47	0.27 - 0.82	0.008	0.46	0.25 - 0.82	0.010
Partner uses alcohol	1.77	1.02 - 3.07	0.41	1.84	1.04 - 3.26	0.035
Conflict about time spend together	1.66	1.00 - 2.76	0.047	**1.77**	**0.99 - 3.15**	**0.052**
Conflict about money	2.29	1.37 - 3.82	0.001	2.32	1.38 - 3.91	0.001
Conflict when she is suspected of talking to other men	3.11	1.82 - 5.29	<0.0001	2.85	1.64 - 4.95	<0.0001
Log Likelihood	-220.03			Log Likelihood	-217.84	
LR Chi	125.49			Wald Chi	77.82	
P value	<0.0001			*P* value	<0.0001	
Psuedo R^2	22.19					

Table 6.14 shows the result of both the unadjusted and adjusted (for interviewer effect) logistic regression model for hitting a partner within the last year. Verbally abusive tactics during conflict (OR 3.56; CI 1.58 - 7.97) and having a co-habiting girlfriend (OR 3.27; CI 1.57 - 6.82) were the strongest predictors for the use of this type of violence. Having more than 3 children (compared to having 2 or less) remained an important protective factor while risk of violence was increased when a partner used alcohol. Conflict between partners with regard to time spend together, how household money should be spend and when the female partner was suspected of infidelity were positively associated with this form of violence. The only change in the adjusted model was that conflict related to the partner wanting more time to be spend with her became non-significant. The least square regression analysis showed that this model explained 22% of the variance for hitting a partner within the past year.

6.4 Sexual violence

Associations between sexual violence and demographic variables are shown Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: Association between reporting sexual violence and, race, education, occupation and household characteristics

Variable	Abuse (n = 209) n (%)	No abuse (n =1159) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Age					
20 - 29	63 (22.2)	221 (77.8)	Ref	-	-
30 - 39	90 (17.9)	413 (82.9)	0.76	0.53 - 1.09	0.144
40 - 49	34 (10.2)	300 (89.8)	0.39	0.25 - 0.62	<0.0001
50 +	22 (9.0)	222 (91.0)	0.34	0.20 - 0.58	<0.0001
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 25.31$ *P*-trend =0.000					
Race					
Non African	149 (14.6)	869 (85.4)	Ref	-	-
African	60 (17.1)	290 (82.9)	1.20	0.86 - 1.67	0.261
Non Coloured/Indian	63 (13.5)	405 (86.5)	Ref	-	-
Coloured/Indian	146 (16.2)	754 (83.8)	1.24	0.90 - 1.71	<0.179
Non White	206 (16.5)	1044 (83.5)	Ref	-	-
White	3 (2.5)	115 (97.6)	0.13	0.04 - 0.42	<0.0001
Education					
No Schooling	4 (4.9)	78 (95.1)	Ref	-	-
Grade 1 - Grade 7	71 (17.8)	327 (82.2)	4.23	1.48 - 12.07	0.003
Grade 8 - Grade 10	91 (18.1)	413 (81.9)	4.29	1.52 - 12.14	0.002
Grade 11 - Grade 12	43 (11.2)	341 (88.8)	2.45	0.85 - 7.08	0.084
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 0.55$; *P*-trend = 0.45					
No post school training	193 (17.2)	928(82.8)	Ref	-	-
Post school training	16 (6.5)	231 (93.5)	0.33	0.19 - 0.56	<0.0001
Occupation					
Unskilled	129 (17.4)	614 (82.6)	Ref	-	-
Semi-skilled	27 (12.7)	186 (87.3)	0.69	0.44 - 1.08	0.102
Skilled	49 (14.0)	300 (86.0)	0.77	0.54 - 1.11	0.166
Professional	4 (6.4)	59 (93.6)	0.32	0.11 - 0.90	0.023
Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 5.77$; p-trend = <0.016					
Type of dwelling					
Formal	163 (14.7)	943 (85.3)	Ref	-	-
Informal	44 (17.9)	202 (82.1)	1.26	0.87 - 1.81	0.216
Household density					
2 or fewer persons/room	113 (13.9)	698 (86.1)	Ref	-	-
Between 2.1 - 4/room	84 (16.8)	417 (83.2)	1.24	0.91 - 1.69	0.163
More than 4 /room	11 (23.4)	36 (76.6)	0.88	0.93 - 3.82	0.072

Table 6.16: Associations between reporting sexual violence and childhood experiences

Variable	Abuse (n = 209) n (%)	No Abuse (n = 1159) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Not raised by both parents	66 (16.4)	373 (88.6)	Ref	-	-
Raised by both parents	143 (14.8)	822 (85.2)	0.88	0.64 - 1.22	0.465
Not raised in a female-headed household	157 (14.8)	903 (85.3)	Ref	-	-
Raised in a female-headed household	52 (16.9)	256 (83.1)	1.16	0.82 - 1.64	0.374
Never saw father	185 (14.7)	1076 (85.3)	Ref	-	-
Always saw father	24 (22.4)	83 (77.6)	1.68	1.04 - 2.71	0.034
Fathers showed interest in them	72 (17.1)	350 (82.9)	Ref	-	-
Fathers showed no interest in them	137 (14.5)	809 (85.5)	0.82	0.60 - 1.12	0.221
Did not received hidings as a child	26 (14.5)	153 (85.5)	Ref	-	-
Received hidings as a child	183 (15.5)	1000 (85.5)	1.07	0.69 - 1.67	0.744
Hidings were not frequent	169 (14.4)	1004 (85.6)	Ref	-	-
Hidings were frequent	40 (20.5)	155 (79.5)	1.53	1.04 - 2.25	0.029
Father was not the head of the home	85 (17.0)	416 (83.0)	Ref	-	-
Father was the head of the home	124 (14.3)	743 (85.7)	0.81	0.60 - 1.10	0.188
Both mother and father did not share the head of the home	205 (15.5)	1118 (84.5)	Ref	-	-
Both mother and father shared the head of home	4 (8.9)	41 (91.1)	0.53	0.18- 1.50	0.233
Did not witness mother's abuse	136 (13.0)	910 (87.0)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed mother's abuse	73 (22.7)	249 (77.3)	1.96	1.43 - 2.69	<0.0001
Did not witnessed mothers' abuse	140 (13.2)	920 (86.8)	Ref	-	-
Witnessed abuse weekly	20 (25.6)	58 (74.4)	2.26	1.31 - 3.89	0.002
Witnessed abuse monthly	8 (21.1)	30 (78.9)	1.75	0.78 - 3.90	0.164
Witnessed abuse occasionally	31 (20.5)	120 (79.5)	1.69	1.09 - 2.62	0.015
Witnessed abuse once	10 (24.4)	31 (75.6)	2.11	1.01 - 4.42	0.040

Test for trend of unadjusted odds $X^2 = 11.18$ *P*-trend = 0.0008

As for the other two types of abuse, older age remained a protective factor. No association with sexual violence was found for Coloured/Indian and African men while a negative association was found for White men. An increase in the risk of reporting use of sexual violence was found for men who had schooled up to Grade 9 relative to those with no education, while no significant association was found for men who had between Grade10 - Grade 12 at the 0.05 significance level. As for the other two types of violence, higher education through post-school training was found to be a protective factor. No difference in association with sexual violence was found between the

unskilled group and the semi-skilled and skilled groups, while the professional group showed a negative association with sexual violence relative to the unskilled group. Furthermore, no relationship was found between the type of house in which the men lived, and the household density and the reporting of sexual violence.

Associations of sexual violence with childhood experiences are presented in Table 6.16.Few childhood co-variates were found to be associated with sexual violence at the univariate level. The three factors never having seen their father, frequent physical punishment as a child, and witnessing mother's abuse were the only ones associated with the use of sexual violence. Witnessing their mother's abuse was the strongest risk factor, with nearly double the risk of reporting sexual abuse relative to men who did not witness this (OR 1.96; CI 1.43 -2.69). Although the cell numbers are small, findings on the frequency of witnessing the abuse showed that those who reported weekly observations had the highest risk of reported sexual violence (OR 2.26; CI 1.31 - 3.89).

Table 6.17: Associations between reporting sexual violence and views on violence and gender roles

Variable	Abuse (n = 209) n (%)	No Abuse (n = 1159) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
No justified reasons given for why its acceptable to hit women	94 (9.8)	863 (90.2)	Ref	-	-
Justified reasons given for why its acceptable to hit women	115 (28.0)	296 (72.0)	3.56	2.63 - 4.82	<0.0001
Score on men's views on gender roles in relationships					
Had more than two gender inequitable items (scored < 81%)	198 (16.5)	999 (83.5)	Ref	-	-
Had less than 2 gender inequitable items (scored >81%)	11 (6.4)	160 (93.6)	0.34	0.18 - 0.65	0.001
Score on violence acceptability					
Use of violence **not acceptable** in any of the situations	12 (10.3)	105 (89.7)	Ref	-	-
Use of violence acceptable in 1 of the scenario	39 (11.0)	316 (89.0)	1.07	0.54 - 2.14	0.825
Use of violence acceptable in > 1 of the scenarios	158 (17.3)	738 (82.4)	1.87	1.00 - 3.49	0.044

The association between use of sexual violence and the men's views on gender roles and violence against women are shown in Table 6.17. A strong positive association was found between sexual violence and justification of hitting women (OR 3.56; CI 2.63 - 4.82). Similarly, a decrease in the

risk of reporting use of sexual violence was found for those with higher scores for the scale measuring men's views on gender relations and gender roles (OR 0.34; CI 0.18 - 0.65). However, the association between use of sexual violence and the men's acceptance of violence reached borderline significance.

While no difference in risk of the use of sexual violence was found between men who did not accept violence in any situation and those who accepted violence in just one situation, an increase in risk for using sexual violence was found for men who accepted violence in more than one situation (OR 1.87; 1.00 - 3.29).

In Table 6.18 the associations between use of sexual violence and the men's behaviour and life experience variables are presented. Overall, less significant associations were found compared with physical abuse.

The association between sexual violence and the female partners are shown in Table 6.19. No significant associations were found with her age, education and employment. As for the other two forms of violence a decrease risk for this form of violence was found if a partner had 3 or more children. Drug use remained associated with the sexual violence (although it had wide Confidence Intervals) as well as reporting that her alcohol drinking created problems in the relationship (OR 2.32; CI 1.23 - 4.37). The associations with conflict in the relationships were similar to the findings of the other two types of violence: reporting good relationships and less frequent conflict were protective while all the reasons for conflict (except conflict about in-laws) were associated with an increase in reporting of violence. The strongest association was for conflict related to the female partner not willing to have sex (OR 8.65; CI 5.87-12.73).

Table 6.18: Associations between reporting sexual violence and the men's behaviour and life experiences

Variable	Abuse (n =209) n (%)	No abuse (n = 1159) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Do not drink alcohol	28 (8.8)	291 (91.2)	Ref	-	-
Drank alcohol in the past	41 (15.5)	223 (84.5)	1.91	1.14 - 3.19	0.0121
Drinks alcohol currently	140 (17.8)	645 (82.2)	2.25	1.46 - 3.47	<0.0001
Drinking alcohol did not create problems	128 (11.9)	950 (88.1)	Ref	-	-
Drinking alcohol created problems	81 (27.9)	209 (72.1)	2.89	2.08 - 3.96	<0.0001
Do not use drugs	149 (13.2)	980 (86.8)	Ref	-	-
Used in the past	17 (23.6)	55 (76.4)	2.03	1.14 - 3.30	0 .0131
Uses currently	43 (25.8)	124 (74.2)	2.28	1.54 - 3.36	<0.0001
Did not belong to a gang	185 (14.5)	1092 (85.5)	Ref	-	-
Belonged to a gang	24 (26.4)	67 (73.6)	2.11	1.29 - 3.46	0.0023
Not ever arrested by police	504 (82.3)	655 (86.6)	Ref	-	-
Arrested by police	108 (17.7)	504 (82.3)	1.38	1.03 - 1.86	0.0285
No arrests	101 (13.4)	655 (86.6)	Ref	-	-
One arrest	70(17.1)	339 (82.9)	1.33	0.96 - 1.86	0.0840
More than one arrest	38 (18.7)	165(81.3)	1.49	0.98 - 2.25	0.0542
Reasons for arrests*					
For violence against women	14 (32.6)	29 (76.4)	2.79	1.44 - 5.40	0.0014
For violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs	72 (20.3)	282 (79.7)	1.63	1.19 - 2.24	0.0021
For political activities	4 (7.0)	53 (93.0)	0.40	0.14 - 1.13	0.0767
For theft	23 (18.0)	105(82.0)	1.24	0.76 - 2.00	0.374
For possession of weapon	6 (21.4)	22 (78.6)	1.52	0.61 - 3.81	0.360
Have not been to jail	130 (13.6)	812 (86.2)	Ref	-	-
Have been to jail	79 (18.5)	347 (81.5)	1.42	1.04 - 1.93	0.024
Time in jail**					
Less than a month	168 (56.4)	126 (43.6)	1.33	0.98 - 1.90	0.106
1 - 6 months	39 (62.9)	23 (37.1)	2.17	1.19 - 3.96	0.009
More than 6 months	40 (53.3)	35 (46.7)	1.89	0.64 - 2.67	0.597
Not frustrated at work	304 (41.1)	435 (58.9)	Ref	-	-
Frustrated at work	275 (43.7)	354 (56.3)	1.04	0.77 - 1.40	0.774
Not involved in a fight at work	164 (14.0)	1006 (86.4)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight at work	45 (22.7)	153 (77.3)	1.80	1.24- 2.61	0.0016
Not involved in a fight in home/community	122 (12.1)	887 (87.9)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight in home/community	87 (24.2)	272 (75.8)	2.3	1.70 - 3.17	<0.0001

* The reference category for the reason for arrest is not having reported that particular reason.
** The reference category for time in jail is having not spent any time in jail.

Table 6.18: Associations between reporting sexual violence and the men's behaviour and life experiences

Variable	Abuse (n =209) n (%)	No abuse (n = 1159) n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Do not drink alcohol	28 (8.8)	291 (91.2)	Ref	-	-
Drank alcohol in the past	41 (15.5)	223 (84.5)	1.91	1.14 - 3.19	0.0121
Drinks alcohol currently	140 (17.8)	645 (82.2)	2.25	1.46 - 3.47	<0.0001
Drinking alcohol did not create problems	128 (11.9)	950 (88.1)	Ref	-	-
Drinking alcohol created problems	81 (27.9)	209 (72.1)	2.89	2.08 - 3.96	<0.0001
Do not use drugs	149 (13.2)	980 (86.8)	Ref	-	-
Used in the past	17 (23.6)	55 (76.4)	2.03	1.14 - 3.30	0 .0131
Uses currently	43 (25.8)	124 (74.2)	2.28	1.54 - 3.36	<0.0001
Did not belong to a gang	185 (14.5)	1092 (85.5)	Ref	-	-
Belonged to a gang	24 (26.4)	67 (73.6)	2.11	1.29 - 3.46	0.0023
Not ever arrested by police	504 (82.3)	655 (86.6)	Ref	-	-
Arrested by police	108 (17.7)	504 (82.3)	1.38	1.03 - 1.86	0.0285
No arrests	101 (13.4)	655 (86.6)	Ref	-	-
One arrest	70(17.1)	339 (82.9)	1.33	0.96 - 1.86	0.0840
More than one arrest	38 (18.7)	165(81.3)	1.49	0.98 - 2.25	0.0542
Reasons for arrests*					
For violence against women	14 (32.6)	29 (76.4)	2.79	1.44 - 5.40	0.0014
For violent behaviour, e.g. assaults/drugs	72 (20.3)	282 (79.7)	1.63	1.19 - 2.24	0.0021
For political activities	4 (7.0)	53 (93.0)	0.40	0.14 - 1.13	0.0767
For theft	23 (18.0)	105(82.0)	1.24	0.76 - 2.00	0.374
For possession of weapon	6 (21.4)	22 (78.6)	1.52	0.61 - 3.81	0.360
Have not been to jail	130 (13.6)	812 (86.2)	Ref	-	-
Have been to jail	79 (18.5)	347 (81.5)	1.42	1.04 - 1.93	0.024
Time in jail**					
Less than a month	168 (56.4)	126 (43.6)	1.33	0.98 - 1.90	0.106
1 - 6 months	39 (62.9)	23 (37.1)	2.17	1.19 - 3.96	0.009
More than 6 months	40 (53.3)	35 (46.7)	1.89	0.64 - 2.67	0.597
Not frustrated at work	304 (41.1)	435 (58.9)	Ref	-	-
Frustrated at work	275 (43.7)	354 (56.3)	1.04	0.77 - 1.40	0.774
Not involved in a fight at work	164 (14.0)	1006 (86.4)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight at work	45 (22.7)	153 (77.3)	1.80	1.24- 2.61	0.0016
Not involved in a fight in home/community	122 (12.1)	887 (87.9)	Ref	-	-
Involved in a fight in home/community	87 (24.2)	272 (75.8)	2.3	1.70 - 3.17	<0.0001

* The reference category for the reason for arrest is not having reported that particular reason.
** The reference category for time in jail is having not spent any time in jail.

Table 6.19: Associations between reporting sexual violence and the female partner and relationship variables

Variable	Abuse (n = 201)* n (%)	No abuse (n = 1113)* n (%)	Crude odds ratios		
			Odds ratio	95% CI	*P*value
Partner was a wife	136 (13.4)	880 (86.6)	Ref	-	-
Partner was a living with girlfriend	31 (27.7)	81 (72.3)	2.47	1.57 - 3.90	<0.0001
Partner was anon-living with girlfriend	34 (18.3)	152 (81.7)	1.44	0.95 - 2.18	0.078
Less than 1 year together	16 (15.1)	90 (84.9)	Ref	-	-
1 - 5 years together	62 (22.8)	210 (77.2)	1.66	0.90 - 3.04	0.097
> 5 years together	131 (13.2)	859 (86.8)	0.85	0.48 - 1.50	0.593
Same age as partner	24 (19.7)	98 (80.3)	Ref	-	-
Partner was younger	135 (14.7)	781 (85.3)	0.70	0.43 - 1.14	0.284
Partner was older	42 (15.3)	232 (84.7)	0.73	0.42 - 1.28	0.155
Had the same level of education	38 (12.7)	260 (87.3)	Ref	-	-
Partner was less educated	57 (15.9)	302 (84.1)	1.29	0.82 - 2.01	0.291
Partner was more educated	95 (15.4)	523 (84.6)	1.24	0.82 - 1.86	0.257
Partner was employed	104 (17.1)	506 (82.9)	1.29	0.95 - 1.75	0.092
Earned the same salary	14 (27.5)	37 (72.5)	Ref	-	-
Partner earned less	68 (16.5)	343 (83.5)	0.52	0.26 - 1.02	0.054
Partner earned more	21 (16.8)	104 (83.2)	0.53	0.24 - 1.16	0.109
Had children with the partner	156 (15.2)	872 (84.8)	0.95	0.66 - 1.37	0.816
Had 2 or fewer children	94 (17.8)	424 (82.2)	Ref	-	-
Had 3 or more children	62 (12.3)	442 (87.7)	0.64	0.45 - 0.91	0.013
Partner used alcohol	47 (17.2)	226 (82.8)	1.19	0.83 - 1.71	0.322
Her alcohol use was problematic	25 (26.3)	70 (73.7)	2.32	1.23 - 4.37	0.006
Partner used drugs	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	4.22	0.93 - 19.07	0.041
Had good relationships	180 (14.5)	1059 (85.5)	0.37	0.21 - 0.67	<0.0001
Frequency of conflicts					
Daily	7 (24.1)	22 (75.9)	Ref	-	-
Weekly	38 (35.8)	68 (64.2)	1.75	0.68 - 4.52	0.237
At least once a month	48 (19.9)	193 (80.1)	0.78	0.31 - 1.94	0.594
Seldom	100 (13.7)	632 (86.3)	0.49	0.20 - 1.19	0.111
Never	8 (3.9)	198 (96.1)	0.12	0.04 - 0.40	<0.0001
Reasons for conflicts					
When she does not want to have sex	95 (50.8)	92 (49.2)	8.65	5.87 - 12.73	<0.0001
When she is cheeky/'sits on his head	139 (28.9)	342 (71.1)	4.31	3.02 - 6.14	<0.0001
When he suspects her of infidelity	65 (38.9)	102 961.1)	4.04	2.78 - 5.88	<0.0001
When she suspects him of infidelity	120 (29.7)	284 (70.3)	3.65	2.61 - 5.09	<0.0001
His alcohol and drug use Household	93 (30.0)	217 (70.0)	2.99	2.15 - 4.15	<0.0001
finances	92 (25.6)	276 (75.0)	2.11	1.53 - 2.90	<0.0001
When she demands more time	96 (21.5)	351 (78.5)	1.59	1.16 - 2.17	0.003
About children	80 (21.4)	294 (78.6)	1.49	1.08 - 2.05	0.012
About in-laws	65 (20.8)	248 (79.2)	1.36	0.97 - 1.89	0.068

* Data do not always add up to 1314 because of missing data for female partners

Table 6.20: Results of logistic regression model for reporting use of sexual violence: showing both unadjusted and adjusted models

Having forced or attempted to force sex with a partner of the last 10 years	Unadjusted for interviewers			Adjusted for interviewers		
	Odds ratio	**95% CI**	***P*value**	**Odds ratio**	**95% CI**	***P*value**
40 - 49 years	0.43	0.24 - 0.75	0.003	0.41	0.23 - 0.74	0.003
50 years and older	0.50	0.26 - 0.97	0.043	0.44	0.22 - 0.87	0.020
Received post school training	0.46	0.25 - 0.84	0.012	**0.62**	**0.33 - 1.17**	**0.144**
Justified reasons given for hitting a woman	1.62	1.10 - 2.27	0.003	1.51	1.02 - 2.24	0.037
>1 current partner	2.02	1.31 - 3.11	0.001	1.92	1.23 - 3.01	0.004
Verbally abusive tactics used during conflict with a partner	2.81	1.69 - 4.66	<0.0001	2.33	1.37 - 3.97	0.002
Conflict about sex	5.64	3.82 - 8.33	<0.0001	5.01	3.36 - 7.47	<0.0001
Conflict when she "sits on his head	2.29	1.55 - 3.38	<0.0001	1.95	1.30 - 2.92	0.001
Log Likelihood -383.58				Log Likelihood -371.21		
LR Chi 255.73				Wald Chi 127.98		
P value <0.0001				*P* value <0.0001		
Psuedo R^2 25.00						

The logistic regression findings for use of sexual violence are shown in Table 6.20. Overall this model differed most from the two physical violence models. In the adjusted model most of the estimates decreased and the men's higher level of education was not associated with sexual violence anymore (OR 0.62; CI 0.33-1.17). Age (from 40 years) remained a protective factor while an increase in risk was reported for giving justifiable reasons for hitting a woman, having more than 1 current partner, and reporting use of verbally abusive tactics during conflict with a female partner. The only two reasons for conflict that remained associated with this form of violence were conflict about sex (OR 5.01; CI 3.36-7.47) and when women were perceived to undermine his authority (sitting on his head). 25% of the risk variance for the reporting of sexual violence is accounted for by the variables found in this model.

Discussion of the above findings is presented in the Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Discussion of findings and Conclusions

7.1 The prevalence of abuse

The findings on the prevalence of the different types of abuse indicate widespread use of violence in intimate relationships among the men interviewed. Comparison with the two other studies of men shows that the men in South Africa reported higher levels of violence against their partners. The 10-year prevalence of physical abuse (42.3%) was more than twice the lifetime prevalence reported in Thailand (19.5%) (Hoffman *et al.* 1994), while it was closer to the upper range found in the Indian study (which reported a range of between 18 - 45% across 5 study sites) (Martin *et al.* 1999a).

The 10-year prevalence of use of sexual violence found in this study was double (15.8%) the lifetime prevalence reported by the Thai husbands (Hoffman *et al.* 1994). Comparison with the Indian study is more complicated because the Indian study divided sexual abuse into 'non-consensual sex' (no force used, 18 - 40%) and 'physically forced sex' (4 - 9%), while attempts to force sex were not measured (Martin *et al.* 1999a). This is different from the current study, where sexual violence was a combination of attempts to rape (8.2%) and rape (7.1%). The South African estimates of physical and sexual violence fall within the upper limits of the lifetime prevalence range of population-based studies done on women (Heise *et al.* 1999). The estimates are particularly high since they reflect men's reporting on partners with whom they had relationships in only the last 10 years, while the two studies of men and most studies of women report on lifetime prevalence. It is also possible that the 10-year period which the men reported on (to assist recall) reduced the downwards reporting bias.

The prevalence of physical violence used in the previous 12 months was not reported in the other studies in men, but the rate reported in the current study (8.8%) is within the upper range of the findings from population studies among women internationally (see Table 2.1), as well as being close to that found in the local Three Province study (Jewkes *et al.* 2001a).

The prevalences of emotional, verbal and economic abuse are the most difficult to compare. First, the two other men's studies did not report on these types of abuse, and second, in most studies emotional and verbal abuse are considered together (including the revised Conflict Tactic Scale). Limited comparison can be made with the study of Arab-Palestinian men in which 15% of the men reported having sworn, shouted or insulted (included as emotional in current study) at a fiancee (Haj-Yahia and Edelson1994), which is much lower than the 55% prevalence of verbal abuse found in this study. The authors do not provide the time period over which this abuse was measured, but it is assumed that the duration of the engagement would have been much lower than the 10-year period over which this study reports.

The operational definition of emotional abuse in this study included tactics commonly used by other researchers. These were controlling behaviours such as threats and humiliation. The overall prevalence of 42% cannot be compared with the Arab study since the latter reported only on the prevalence of individual conflict tactics. A few of the individual behaviours are, however comparable with the Arab study. A similar level of "threats with weapons" was reported (Arab males 3.8% and current study 4.8%), while a much higher prevalence of "threats to hit or throw an object at them" was reported in the current study (21.8%) compared to the Arab study (9.7%).

In this study economic abuse was based on a single variable, and is not inclusive of all the forms of economic abuse used in intimate relations. The other studies of men did not report on this type of abuse, while the study among women in the three provinces in South Africa measured economic abuse using a different criteria, i.e. whether the male partner did or did not provide money in the last year for household bills (such as for food and rent) while having money for other things and taking their wages or preventing women from working. Despite this, the prevalence reported was similar and ranged between 10.1 and 15.7% (Jewkes *et al.* 2001a).

Although the severity of the abuse was not measured directly in this study, the high proportion of violent incidents described by men who reported current use of abuse, and the number of men that reported that their partners required medical care, suggest that some of these episodes were of a serious nature. Whilst the possibility exists that the men may have exaggerated the reporting of a particular violent incident, it is believed that it is more likely that they tried to minimise the

severity of their behaviour.

The high proportion of concurrent use of different types of abuse, as well as the overlap between sexual, physical and emotional abuse confirms what has been described by many organisations which provide services for women. Violence takes many forms and treating these as discrete categories can mask the realities experienced by women. Both the Nicaraguan study (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a) and one conducted in Japan (Yoshihama and Sorenson 1994) showed a similar overlap, while the Indian rural study of women reported that the "women who experienced violence reported an average three different forms of violence" (Visaria 1999: p. 13). The finding that sexual violence rarely occurred on its own has important implications for interventions for both men and women, since it highlights the importance of screening for other forms of abuse when the presence of any form of abuse has been identified.

Prevalence estimates from this study most likely underestimates the true prevalence since under-reporting of the abuse is a common problem. Although the fieldworkers conducted the interviews in private, ensured confidentiality and were trained to ensure a non-judgemental environment to allow disclosure, it is possible that some men would have answered questions in a socially desirable manner. When this was discussed during the debriefing sessions, the fieldworkers reported that they could deduce when a respondent was evasive, lying or reporting truthfully. They also sensed that men with higher socio-economic status appeared better at avoiding the topic when probed. In addition, the issue of power differences between them and the respondents was discussed within the context of such probing, and they acknowledged that they felt more "comfortable" probing men with lower education since they made less objections and did not interpret the probing as intrusive as the more the educated men did.

In a review of methodological factors which may have influenced the prevalence of rape reported by women in the USA, Koss (1993) notes that "differential participation" has been reported by some researchers, when it was observed that participation in studies of rape was associated with age and education of the women (i.e. younger and more educated women were more likely to participate). It is more likely that the opposite happened in this study. It was notable that non-response was greater among more educated men, especially those in management posts. They

could easily claim to be 'very busy' while unskilled and semi-skilled workers were encouraged (by their managers and union officials) to participate and may have found it more difficult to refuse. In one incident a manager told the researcher that he did not want to be interviewed because he did not think he 'had the problem' but that it was most likely his subordinate workers! Other factors which may have influenced the level of reporting were the unwillingness of some men to recount what appeared to be unpleasant experiences. Fieldworkers reported that some men preferred to skip sensitive questions such as questions on their childhood and conflict in relationships.

7.2 Predictors of using violence against women

Bivariate analysis of the associations between men's use of violence and various co-variates served to identify subgroups of men at higher risk for such behaviours. These may be important for the identification of male target groups for interventions and included men that are: younger; from the Coloured ethnic group; who had an education level between Grade 1 and 10; who never had contact with their fathers or whose fathers' showed little interest in them; those received physical hidings as a child and who witnessed their mother being abused as a child; those who agreed that there are reasons why women should be hit; those that supported gender inequity; those who used alcohol and drugs; those that belonged to a gang; those who had been arrested by police and who had spend time in jail; those involved in fights at work and in their community and those who had more than one current partner. Many of these associations became non-significant when multiple logistic regression analyses were performed, indicating that their risk was attributable to other factors, however, they remained markers of risk groups.

At the multivariate level, the significant risk factors associated with the use of physical violence of partners of last 10 years included verbal abuse, Coloured men, being involved in fights at work, problems with alcohol use, justifying reasons for hitting a woman, having a partner that is less educated, having a partner that uses alcohol, having conflict with a partner about sex or when there are suspicions about infidelity as well as conflict when a woman is perceived to be 'sitting on his head'. Being involved in religious activities and having post school education were protective.

The significant associations were maintained between the use of physical violence in the past year and post school education, verbal abuse, having a living-in girlfriend, having a partner that uses alcohol, having conflict with the partner about time spend together, money and infidelity and having more than 3 children with a partner. While risk factors associated with sexual violence were: older age, post school education, verbal abuse, conflict with a partner about sex and when she is perceived to undermine his authority, having more than1 current partner and having given reasons to justify why it is acceptable to hit women.

7.2.1 Ethnicity

Ethnicity was associated with physical violence (of partners of last 10 years) and not with sexual or physical violence in the past year. Coloured/Asian men were more than twice as likely to report physical violence compared to all the other men. They were also more likely to report being involved in fights in their neighbourhoods and at work ($P<0.0001$) which may reflect their greater likelihood to use violence to resolve conflict in general (as well as against their intimate partners). In the USA differences in the associations between experiencing violence against women and ethnic groups were mainly explained by differences in their socio-economic status (Jones *et al.* 1999). This is not the case in South Africa as African men in general have a lower socio-economic status than Coloured/Asian and White men. In addition none of the other socio-economic variables such as household and dwelling characteristics were associated with the use of any of the violence. The 1998 SADHS also found that Coloured women were most at risk of physical violence by an intimate partner and they were most likely to report past year physical violence by a non-intimate partner (Department of Health 2002). These findings suggest that the differences among the ethnic groups reflect differences in social norms that relate to the use of violence in both intimate and non-intimate relationships.

7.2.2 Age

Age was only a predictor for sexual violence with older age being protective (40 years and older). The relationship between age and violence was not reported in the two studies of males (Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Martin *et al.* 1999a) or in studies of women (Ellsberg *et al.*1999a, Ahuja *et al.* 2000, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming); while the risk factor review by Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found men's age was not a consistent risk factor. Study designs may explain

lack of association with age as studies of women only sampled those of reproductive age and therefore exclude women over the age of 50 years (the two male studies however included men over the age of 50 years), while most of the studies on sexual aggression by men (mainly in the US) have been done among college students (i.e. men under the age of 25 years). However the age of the men's partners in this study may not be similar to the women in the population studies as more than 75% of the men 50 years and older had partners that were younger than them. It may also be possible that age was more susceptible than other variables to reporting on 'partners of the last 10 years' compared to other studies that reflect lifetime prevalence.

During the fieldwork some indication of the ways in which age mediate the use of violence was demonstrated, with many of the respondents commenting on the age at which their abusive behaviour stopped. Some said *"the hitting happened when I was younger and I did not know any better"* or *"it was when we were both young"*. This suggests that age interacts closely with factors at the relationship level which may bear on the development of dynamics within relationships overtime. The relationship itself is also further influenced by factors within the broader social environment, including notions of masculinity and femininity which promote men's use of violence. In this study younger men (< 40 years) were significantly more likely to agree that there are justified reasons for hitting of a partner ($P < 0.0001$). This may suggest that although men of all ages may subscribe to the same notions of male dominance, younger men may be more likely to perceive the control of women to be closely connected to their ideas about honour - where fear of loss of honour may result in the use of violence. These findings provide some evidence of the link between age, relationship dynamics, masculinities and the use of violence.

Age as a predictor for sexual aggression may be an important indicator how men using sexual violence differ from men using other forms of violence against women. Ethnographic research with young South Africans has extensively explored the nature of sexual coercion between young men and women. In these relationships sex is often non-consensual or not negotiated (Wood and Jewkes 2001). This is particularly important because South Africa has a relatively youthful population with a third of the population under the age of 15 years (Statistic South Africa 1998). These findings together highlight the potential importance of developing interventions which target young men.

7.2.3 Childhood environment

Witnessing their mother's abuse as a child and receiving frequent hidings during childhood (daily or weekly physical punishment) was both positively associated with the use of only physical violence. These two associations have not been explored in the studies in men (Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Martin *et al.* 1999a, Haj-Yahia and Edelson1994) although the review of 16 studies by Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) reported a consistent positive association between men's experiences of their mothers' abuse during childhood/adolescence and their later use of violence against intimate partners. This positive association has also been reported in a study where the risk for violence was increased for wives who reported that their husbands had witnessed such abuse as a child (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a). The finding of parental violence during childhood is also consistent with findings from Brazil (Barker 2001) and Australia (Hammil 2001) where positive associations between such experiences and the later use of violence against an intimate partner as an adult was found (although this was less consistent than witnessing abuse as a child).

This inter-generational cycle of violence has also been reported as an important risk factor for women's experiences of abuse (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming, Hotaling and Sugarman1986). The South African study found that women's experiences of being beaten as a child was associated with greater risk of both lifetime and past year experiences of intimate partner violence (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). These findings suggest that childhood experiences of violence are embedded within the general acceptance and condoning of violence in South African society, where many children learn that violence is normative and that conflicts are resolved through the use of it. In longitudinal studies of sexual aggression amongst young men, a hostile childhood was found to lead men into two possible pathways towards sexual aggression. The one pathway direct men to have hostile personalities mainly directed at women and the second pathway may mediate through impersonal sex resulting from difficulty in forming close emotional bonding relationships with women - leading to sexual promiscuity (Malamuth *et al.* 1991).

This study found no independent association between the use of violence and the role of the father during childhood. In addition not all the boys who experience adverse childhood conditions become abusers as adults. During the fieldwork a few men became obviously distressed when discussing the abuse of their mothers and often spoke about protecting her; others questioned why

they did not defend her, while some who strongly opposed the use of violence towards partners said they opposed it because they had witnessed it as a child. Gender-role socialisation which boys encounter during childhood may set them on a pathway to become abusive, but whether they actually will abuse depends on other factors they encounter in their lives. These findings further suggest the complex interaction between child development, home environment and the societal factors relating to masculine identity and the use of violence against women. An important question for future research is to understand what factors distinguish these two different outcomes. The data from this study provide the opportunity to explore this further but is beyond the scope of the thesis.

Child trauma in terms of a harsh upbringing is also reproduced by the spiraling HIV epidemic in South Africa, where it is expected that the country will have 1.85 million AIDS orphans by 2015 (Bradshaw *et al.* 2002). It can only be speculated how this environment of loss of parents, abandonment, family break-up and stigmatisation among others, will promote traumatic experiences of childhood. All of this points to the importance of interventions directed at children at risk. Equally important but clearly lacking from interventions are parent education about child development and its impact on the socialisation of young boys (and girls). Such interventions will ensure that positive parent-child relationships become the teaching ground for learning positive behaviour.

7.2.4 Alcohol

The role of alcohol in the use of violence against intimate partners appear complex. There was no relationship between any of the three types of violence and the use of alcohol and drugs or the number of alcohol drinks taken. However, a positive association was found between the use of physical violence (of partners of last 10 years) and reporting that their alcohol drinking created problems in their relationships. None of the alcohol co-variates were associated with sexual violence. These findings indicate that alcohol use is not independently associated with the use of violence but that it may precipitate violent conflict with partners. This finding corroborates the results from the Thai study (Hoffman *et al.* 1994) (the Thai researchers studied the association with alcohol differently by measuring the severity of the husbands drinking problems and used it as a means to determine intrapersonal stress experienced by the husband while this study asked the men if their drinking of alcohol created problems in their relationships). They reported that

they did not defend her, while some who strongly opposed the use of violence towards partners and said they opposed it because they had witnessed it as a child. Gender-role socialisation which boys encounter during childhood may set them on a pathway to become abusive, but whether they actually will abuse depends on other factors they encounter in their lives. These findings further suggest the complex interaction between child development, home environment and the societal factors relating to masculine identity and the use of violence against women. An important question for future research is to understand what factors distinguish these two different outcomes. The data from this study provide the opportunity to explore this further but is beyond the scope of the thesis.

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violence, with physical violence of partners in the last 10 years having the strongest association.

The men's use of violence to assert their dominant position within relationships was visible in the sources of conflict between partners. Conflicts when men perceived their authority was challenged ('she sits on his head') resulting in them perceiving the need to correct their partners, and to remind them of their 'place'. This was strongly associated with both physical and sexual violence. During the formative focus group discussions some of the men agreed that problems in relationships occurred when women provoked male authority by wanting to be the "head of the household" (Appendix I). These findings are consistent with findings from cross-cultural studies (Counts *et al.* 1992, Levinson 1989), representative studies among women (Visaria 1999, Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a, Jewkes Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming), qualitative studies (Wood and Jewkes 2001, Fuller 2001), and the study of Arab Israeli men that found that using reasoning during conflict had more egalitarian expectations of the marriage (Haj-Yahia and Edelson 1994). Wood and Jewkes (2001) showed the linkage between the violence and male dominance and control in the study of young men saying "*violence usually occurs in situations where a girlfriend was perceived to be stepping out of line by behaving in ways which threatened men's sense of authority in the relationship and undermined their public presentation of themselves as 'men in control'.*" (p 323). These findings support (the feminist anthropologist) Moore's (1994) argument that challenges to male power are experienced by men as challenges to their masculine identity and that using power and force over a partner is their way of resolving this crisis in their male identity.

Conflict about sex in the relationships was associated with both sexual and physical violence. This was partly explained by male ideas of sexual entitlement, as well as concerns to control women's sexuality. Whilst the nature of these conflicts was not explored in this study, many qualitative studies have documented how forced sex occurs in intimate relationships (Wood *et al.* 1997, Jama and Jewkes 2002, Wood and Jewkes 2001, Jewkes and Abrahams forthcoming). Men may force sex on a partner who is not willing because they believe that she should be available whenever he wants it. Women may be accused of infidelity in arguments about their unwillingness to have sex and the assumption is made that if she does not want it from him then she is having sex with someone else. It is not very surprising that conflict when women were suspected of infidelities were also associated with the mens' use of physical violence (including

violence in the past year).

Conflict about men's affairs with other women was also associated with physical violence. Having multiple sexual partners is often viewed by men as a feature of 'successful manhood' and they resent women's interference in this prerogative. Wood and Jewkes (2001) reported that young men in Umtata would hit their girlfriends if they tried to oppose or interfere with their chances to have other girlfriends. Yet for women to have more than one partner is not accepted by men and society in general (Wood and Jewkes 2001). These sources of conflict resonate with data from Peru - interviews with 78 men cited similar reasons given by the men for conflicts with partners (Fuller 2001). The author argued that violence was a result of the men facing a battle between two opposing but equally important principles that are the foundations of Peruvian matrimony. On the one hand a Peruvian man is expected to respect and devote himself to his wife and family and to hold greater authority in the home, while not expecting him to be faithful. Conflict with partners thus arises when these two principles clash.

Studies among women have found that those who have liberal views on gender roles are also at greater risk for abuse (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). This link is explained by these women being more likely to challenge the men's authority, to which men respond with violence. Kimmel (1987) writing on masculinities, suggested that the crisis in masculinities is most notable in societies that are undergoing transition which is characterised by social, political and economic upheaval. It is possible that the dramatic changes in South Africa over the 10 years have provided the ideal conditions for such a crisis in South African men. The crisis may be further exacerbated by the changes in the constitution in which gender equality has received a central position in most policies (Lindegger and Durrheim, 2001).

7.2.7 Multiple Partners

Having more than one current partner was associated with greater risk for sexual violence. This finding is resonant of the findings of the study of men in Indian, where a positive association was found between sexual violence and extramarital affairs (Martin *et al.* 1999a). There appears to be a clear link between the reasons for conflict discussed above where sexual violence was found to be associated with conflict about sex with partners and when she was perceived to undermine his authority. Since many societal and cultural norms support the notions of male sexual

behaviour (i.e. male sexual entitlement and acceptability of having multiple sexual partners), affairs may be a source of conflict in themselves as well as linked to him viewing her reproach of his affairs as undermining his authority.

Violence and threat of violence are emerging as important factors fuelling the rapidly increasing HIV epidemic among women (Maman *et al.* 2000, Garcia-Moreno and Watts 2000, Zierler and Krieger 1997). In this study the association between violence (physical and sexual), multiple partners and conflict about sex and infidelity of either partner are some potential connections between these two public health problems. This is most relevant in South Africa where the epidemic is growing fastest among young women of child-bearing age (Department of Health 2001). Unequal sexual relations associated with coercion have been suggested as one of the most important factors advancing the spread of the infection among young women (Maman *et al.* 2000, McFadden 1992, Garcia-Moreno 1999, Weiss and Rao Gupta 1998). While violence as well as fear of violence has been reported as reasons why women do not approach the topic of condom use with a partner (Maman *et al.* 2000, Weiss and Rao Gupta 1998) - as well as reluctance to disclose HIV status (Rothenberg *et al.* 1995, Mathews *et al.* 1999). It has been found that suggesting condom use or disclosing HIV positive status is almost equivalent to women admitting infidelity (Van der Straten *et al.* 1995, Wood 2000) which further supports the interrelations between risks associated with intimate partner violence and HIV infection. Maman *et al.* (2000) suggest a further mechanism which may increase women's vulnerability to HIV infection. These are violent sexual experiences which may increase their vulnerability to risky sexual behaviour through early sexual debut, multiple sexual partners, use of drugs and alcohol and trading sex.

7.2.8 Education

Education of men and their partners appeared to be associated with the use of violence. Crude odds ratios showed that the relationship between men's education and their use of violence was U-shaped with the greatest risk for men that had some schooling (below matric) compared to those who had no schooling. The multivariate analysis showed a negative association between a man having post school education and the use of physical violence, however the association with sexual violence was not significant after adjustment for interviewers indicating higher education was protective against the use of physical but not sexual violence. In the review of risk factors Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that 8 out of 10 studies of physical violence reported a

similar negative association with the men's education. Direct comparison is not possible since the variables used to measure education were not provided. In the Indian study, where number of years of schooling <5 years or > 5 years was measured, a higher risk for violence was found for men with <5 years education (Martin *et al.* 1999a). The Thai study only measured the educational attainment difference (as one of several potential status differences) between the husband and the wife and no association between educational level discordance and violence was found (Hoffman *et al.* 1995).

It has been suggested that the protective effect provided by higher education may not be direct and could be mediated by having better access to resources to cope with stress therefore decreasing their use of violence. This resource theory of violence suggested by Goode (1971) is based on the premise that people become frustrated because of material deprivation, i.e. those living in poverty because of lack of income, low education, low level job or low social prestige. Gelles (1974) expanded this when he suggested that frustration and stress in men are a result of them not being able to meet their societal obligations to provide and care for their families. Intimate partners thus become an easy target to vent frustrations. In the formative work (Appendix I) the men spoke about *"getting frustrated"* when not able to *"provide adequately"*. However, this hypothesis (association between husbands stress and the use of violence) was tested in the Thai study and no such association was found (Hoffman *et al.* 1994). In her recent paper Jewkes (2002) supports the view that the men's use of violence is mediated through ideas of successful manhood and the crisis of masculinities. She argues that differences in some of the factors associated with research from various research settings can be explained by the differences in notions of successful manhood in these societies.

The Thai study analysed men's education in a composite of three variables to measure the effect of socio-economic status (income, education and occupation) on the use of violence. They found socio-economic status one of the three main predictors of violence - men with less socio-economic resources were more likely to report violence against wives confirming that violence against women is more likely to happen in conditions of poverty (Hoffman *et al.* 1994).

The association between violence and the women's education appears equally complex. In this study an increase risk for use of physical violence (of partners of past 10 years only) was found

for the men who had partners who had both less and more education than them, i.e. discordance. The Three Province study found an inverted U-shaped relationship with both women who had higher and lower levels of education being protected from the violence, which is the same pattern found for men in this study. The association of women with lower levels of education was not significant at 5% level (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming) which is similar to most other studies, which report that women's higher education is more likely to be protective (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999, Hotaling and Sugarman 1986). Although an association between violence and status difference has been reported (Yllo and Bograd 1988), the large study of Indian women (Ahuja *et al.* 2000) found the gap in education between husband and wife had no effect on physical violence. Jewkes (2002) explains the link between violence and women's education in terms of women's empowerment, with education as one of many sources of female empowerment (others include women's income and their community involvement).

The above discussion clearly indicates the possible complex relationship between education, socio-economic status with men's use violence and women's vulnerability to be abused. Some of these complexities were explored in ethnographic research in South Africa. In Cape Town, Salo (2000) highlighted the influence of masculinities on the economic lives of women. She argues that the introduction of government to provide welfare payments to single mothers promoted their access to homes, which meant that the State took over the traditional male role of the breadwinner. She suggests that this resulted in many homes functioning as female-headed homes, provoking a crisis in masculinity and further increasing the women's vulnerability for abuse. The same argument is used to partly explain the proliferation of gangsterism in this area, by suggesting that when men lost the role of employed breadwinners they were forced to find other means of expressing their masculinity, i.e. to belong to a gang. This same explanation is used by Bourgois (1996) to explain the crisis of male identity experienced by Puerto Rican men growing up in the slums of New York.

In the study of young men in Umtata (Wood and Jewkes 2001), wealth was regarded as an important feature of 'successful manhood'. In addition, having sexual relationships with certain women was an important aspect of acquiring status among peers. Young girls choose partners that could provide them with clothes, food and money and so men from poorer backgrounds found it difficult to establish relationships and therefor acquire status. These poorer men were thus more

likely to use violence in their relationships to control the partner to ensure the partner does not move onto more 'beneficial' relationships.

These findings highlight the complexity around the change in women's financial status and independence. There is a clear need to better understand how it impacts relationships and how it influences the risk for men to use violence and women's vulnerability to being abused.

7.2.9 Use of violence

Of the many other violent crime-related risk factors measured, having been involved in fights at work was one of the few that was significantly associated with use of physical violence. It had no effect on sexual violence and violence in the past year. However, the reason for this association is not clear and cannot be adequately explained. The study did not explore the reasons for these fights and therefore it is not known if the fights were with other workers or with management (although it would more likely be between workers as the men in general were concerned about opposing management). This association may be linked through its association with ethnicity since more than 90% of all the men involved in these fights were Coloured men ($P<0.0001$). This finding support the data presented earlier on the links between different cultural norms (and ethnicity) and the use of violence as a strategy in conflict with intimate partners as well as in non-intimate relations.

This raises the possibility of early identification of men who resolve conflict violently. The workplace could be an important intervention site to help men recognise their violent behaviour and to promote behaviour change through in-service work programmes. An opportunity exists currently for the incorporation of anti-violence programs in the HIV awareness projects which are currently being planned in many workplaces in South Africa.

7.2.10 Cohabiting girlfriends

Having co-habiting girlfriends was associated with the use of violence in the past year only. This finding may be related to the reporting period. Having co-habiting girlfriends may be a phenomena of 'young' or 'short term' relationships and the risk effect may disappear or become less important over time (10 year reporting). These girlfriends may choose not to marry a violent partner, leave the relationships or their status may change as the relationship develop and improve over time i.e

become wives. This association with relationship status has not been explored in the two male studies as these studies were conducted within formal husband and wife relationship only (Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Marten *et al.* 1999a). The Three Province study measured such differences in relationships but no associations with violence were found (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming). The association between the violence and co-habiting indicates the increased vulnerability of these women. It may also be possible that this effect was related to the economic dependance of these women on the male partners. In the bivariate analysis they were less likely to have a job (7.4%) and if they had a job the overwhelming majority earned less than the male partner (80%). This may have placed further financial strain on these relationships.

7.2.11 Children

Having many children was only associated with sexual abuse. This was not explored in the two male studies (Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Marten *et al.* 1999a). This protective effect provided by having many children is different from the findings from Nicaragua (Ellsberg *et al.* 1999) where an increase risk (physical and sexual abuse) was associated with having many children. The effect in South Africa may be linked to the importance of having children and masculinity. Men who have many children with women may feel more 'settled' or 'satisfied" with their relationships and the partners since they had borne him children. Parenthood is a very important aspect of South Africans lives. Qualitative studies with couples seeking infertility care showed that infertility was closely linked to marital instability and validating masculinity. Proving fertility before a formal marriage is a common practice and women are often abandoned if they are not able to bear children (Dyer *et al.* 2002a). The importance of parenthood was starkly demonstrated during an interview with a man seeking infertility care with his partner. When his wife was not able to conceive he intentionally had an extramarital affair to find out if he could father a child. When this was proven he arranged for the woman to have an abortion (Dyer *et al.* 2002b).

7.2.12 Religious Activities

The protective effect by being involved in religious activities is also not completely understood, and has not been reported by other studies in men and women. This relationship appears complex, since it is known that most religions are based on or interpreted within a patriarchal framework where men and women receive clear messages of their place within the family and society. This was demonstrated during the formative research, when a man said that his parent's relationship

improved dramatically after they both become involved in the church. He further explained that his mother had learned to know her *"place"* in that she had become more subservient to the father, and he perceived this as the reason for the improvement in the relationship (Appendix I).

7.2.13 Interrelated risk

These findings show the use of violence is a product of interaction between several risk factors. Although the risk factors appear to emerge from diverse sources, they articulate with each other. It seems likely that the more factors that are present, the higher the likelihood of the use of violence. Men's risk of violence is thus a product of interaction between men's personal and relationship characteristics, which are influenced directly and indirectly by societal structures, ideas and institutions. The recent article on causation of intimate partner violence by Jewkes (2002) presents a model for explaining the violence (see Figure 5.4) which is different from the Heise's (1998) framework because it indicates the direction of interaction between factors.

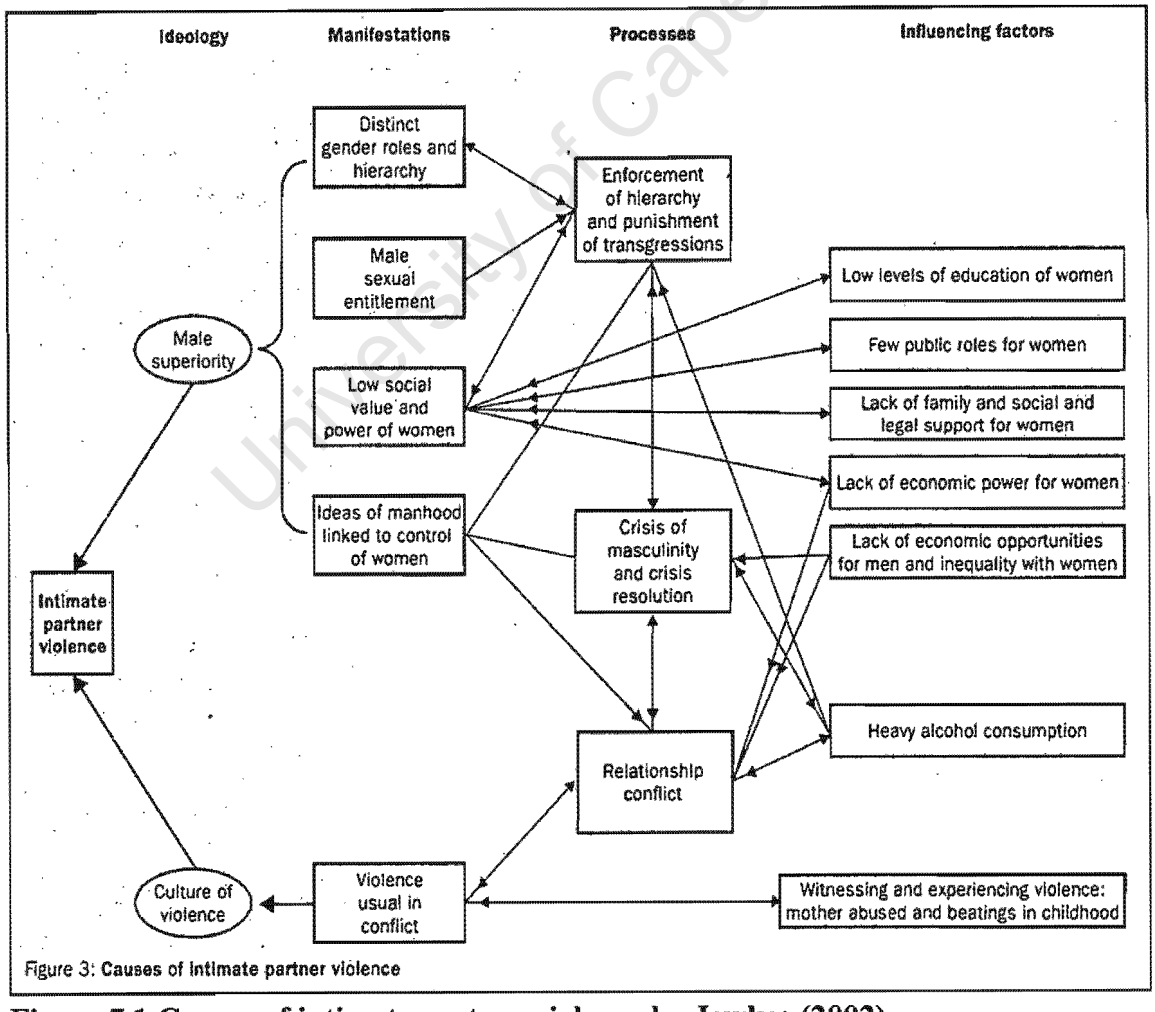

Figure 7.1 Causes of intimate partner violence by Jewkes (2002)

She shows the interplay of risk factors through a constellation of interactions and depicts the causation of violence by firstly identifying the two ideologies of male superiority and the culture of the use of violence as the factors underlying men's abusive behaviour. The figure shows how these two ideologies become manifested mainly in men's views of gender roles, male sexual entitlement, the low status of women and ideas of control of women. A range of factors may influence these manifestations directly or through impacting on processes such as relationship conflict.

Many of the risk factors found in this study could be explained in terms of this model. There remain however many gaps in the understanding of the role and interactions of some of these risk factors. From the figure and from the study it is clear that the role of relationship conflicts and alcohol consumption are two important risk factors for further research in understanding its role. This research poses challenges for researchers in this field.

The complexity of multiple risk factors also confirms that a single approach to seeking the solution to the problem is not the answer. The model by Jewkes provides a useful framework for intervention because the interactions show how intervention at one level would be futile if other factors are not addressed as well.

As with any other models for predicting an outcome, these models for explaining the 3 forms of violence do not represent 100% of risk variance for using violence. In most cases 40% risk variance represents a powerful model for explaining an outcome, but more commonly only between 10 and 20% of the risk variance is accounted for in most models (O'Neil and Harvay 1999). In this study the model for explaining physical violence nearly reached 40%, which indicates that it is a reasonably powerful model for explaining the violence, while both sexual and current violence was below 20%. The latter could be because of the smaller samples of men that reported those forms of violence. It is hoped that these models form the basis for further identification of factors that have not yet been accounted for among South African men.

Overall the final model for explaining the three types of violence had many more risk factors associated with the women's characteristics indicating the critical role of relationship issues. These suggest that certain conflicts are much more important, i.e. conflicts about issues closely

related to how men view themselves and partners (infidelity, authority etc.). This study has shown that a study with men did not yield many more or different risk factors related to men's use of violence that have not been identified in similar risk factor studies among women. This is important as it confirms that all the research with women over the three decades has been of extreme relevance.

Studies with men however remain useful in the understanding of how masculinities within certain societies impact on the use of violence against women. Such exploration is important in all settings and should continue to feed into interventions.

7.3 Interventions at the workplace after the study

After completion of the study the findings were reported separately to each of the municipalities, with individual reports and presentations made to management, unions and staff members. At follow-up meetings each of the municipalities agreed to develop interventions for both male and female workers. Since this was a new undertaking they required support in the development of such plans. A workshop was convened by the researcher at which all three of the municipalities were brought together with union members to facilitate a workplace intervention plan. At the workshop they were given input from two organisations that carry out interventions with men, and all three opted to work with the 5 in 6 Project (the organisation involved in the training of the fieldworkers).

Within a year of the research being completed all three municipalities had started some form of intervention around gender-sensitive training with the men. The interventions varied and largely depended on the motivation of staff and the support they received from management. Two municipalities were very motivated and had well-developed plans; this was mainly because their management supported the process and provided resources to ensure it succeeded. The municipality with the biggest commitment had very strong support from the senior management as well as political support (the Mayor of the municipality launched the project at a media event). The intervention at this municipality was to have all the male workers participate in a workshop which covered three sessions of 3 hours each. Because of the success of the first round of workshops (with many positive responses received from the male workers), a second phase was developed to broaden the intervention with the men. In this project the municipality linked up

with the Men as Partners Programme of the Planned Parenthood Association, which linked the gender violence training with HIV awareness. It also included components on life-skills and reproductive health. This second process included female workers.

Another example of an intervention at one of the municipalities was the recommendation to make municipal houses available as safe houses and shelters for abused women within the communities. When this was not followed through after a year, the Gender Group of the municipality (consisting of mainly female workers that became the watchdog of the process) held the management accountable to their earlier promises, and this ensured that they worked more closely with the Provincial Department of Social Services to commence this project. This same municipality also broadened its intervention by continuing gender-sensitive training of its health care workers to ensure that they are able to respond to women and children who attend the local primary health care services. An innovative intervention was to develop messages on the pay-slips of workers (this strategy was found on the Internet and was shared with the municipalities by the researcher). These messages, raising awareness of the issue and providing contact details of services, were well received and now compete for space with other health messages.

7.4 Conclusions and recommendations

Studies on violence against women have proliferated over the past 20 years. Although it has been a problem over the ages it only became an issue in the late 20th century because of the growth of women's rights, economic development and changes in society. Causes of the use of violence appear to vary across societies, but the fundamental issue is male superiority and how society views women - this provides the background against which individual factors operate.

This study was the first large study among males in South Africa to identify the prevalence of and risk factors for their use of violence. Despite the limitations of the study methodology, the findings on the prevalence and risk factors are in keeping with the other two international studies carried out among men (Hoffman *et al.* 1994, Martin *et al.* 1999a) as well as with studies with women (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Levin forthcoming, Ellsberg *et al.* 1999a, Ahuja *et al.* 2000).

Although overlap of risk factors for sexual and physical abuse was found, men who use sexual violence were more likely to be younger, have multiple partners while having a higher education

was not associated with this form of violence. The men who reported physical violence in the past year also differ from the physical abuse of partners in the last 10 years by the increase risk associated with having many children and a cohabiting girlfriend.

The study also left no doubt that violence has a definitive role in the construction of masculine identities, and gender violence should be understood in terms of notions of masculinities since this will influence policies and programmes.

The findings of the multivariate analysis demonstrate the multi-factorial nature of risk factors for gender-based violence and indicate how risk factors are not mutually exclusive but operate in a variety of combinations. These findings have contributed to the understanding of the vulnerability of groups, such as younger men, which are important for planning interventions, but caution must be taken to prevent labelling of certain groups. It would be important to identify men at risk, however, men are not a homogenous group and interventions and responses should acknowledge these differences.

Those working in the area of violence against women must acknowledge that men who use violence are the problem and therefore also part of the solution. Men have to take responsibility to stop the violence by working together with women by developing strong anti-violence activism to find solutions to this problem. Intervention strategies that combine a focus on both men and women should be developed, with resources being directed equally at interventions amongst men and women. Care should be taken to ensure that such strategies do not strip already much needed resources that focus on providing services for women.

A fundamental shift is required to bring about behavioural changes in the pre-existing norms on the role of men and women. This would be closely related to changes in the social context in which the violence occurs. Since such changes do not occur immediately, processes to ensure that this happens must commence imminently. This process of change must be located at all levels including the individual, family, school, workplaces, including strategies that operate at both the prevention and secondary intervention levels.

Social and cultural factors play a critical role in the use of violence against intimate partners.

Understanding this role is vitally important. Future research should examine these factors, to better understand how best to intervene with men from diverse communities in South Africa.

It is important to direct anti-violence interventions at children - particularly pre-adolescents boys. They could be exposed to and made aware of the diversity of masculinities that exist beyond the models that they have commonly been exposed to. They could also learn non-violent conflict management skills. Additionally it would be important to work with them to help them realise that social factors impact on their use of violence.

Providing young parents with parenting skills, which includes addressing issues of non-violent parenting, appears to be an important strategy to break the inter-generational cycle of violence. Men's parenting roles and the building of relationships with their children would be of particular importance. This should be explored further.

Young boys at risk, such as those who experience a harsh childhood, should be identified early for intervention to lead them to pathways to learn non-violent masculinities.

Anti-violence campaigns using health promotion and marketing frameworks that appeal to South African men should be developed in close collaboration with men themselves to ensure that they engage with the realities of their lives. These campaigns should target audiences that are at risk of perpetrating violence.

The workplace would be a critical site for intervention. Workers that are at particular risk, e.g., those who are involved in fights at work, could be identified and supported in developing new skills to deal with conflict.

Further research is also required in the following areas:

- The interrelationship between risk factors needs further exploration.
- Resilience factors that prevent non-abusive men from being abusers.
- The complex reciprocal relationship between alcohol and substance abuse and use of violence.
- The dynamics and the role of conflict in the promotion of intimate partner

violence.

- The role of religion in the use or non-use of violence in relationships.
- The links between masculinity and risk for HIV/AIDS.

Change in perceptions and behaviour does not happen instantly but it does change over time. The long term change in men's behaviour towards women should be seen as a long-term goal and it is hoped that this study is one of many incremental steps being taken towards understanding this complex and multifaceted problem, and hence to bring relief and hope to women, their partners and their developing children.

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Appendix I

Findings of the focus groups

Introduction

Four focus group discussions were held with the two groups of men. Both the married and unmarried men contributed equally to the discussions. The men were quite comfortable in talking about their relationships with their partners and abuse and gave valuable input on how questions on violence should be raised with men in the quantitative study.

Conflicts

Origins of conflicts

When the men spoke of how arguments developed in their relationships, they often blamed their partner. Men explained that if their woman was seen *'speaking to somebody I do not know'* it would give him *'thoughts'* or *'you hear that your wife has talked to a man'*. These *'thoughts'* were images of the woman's infidelity and resulted in the men questioning the women's loyalty. The men explained that these perceptions of the woman's infidelity were based on their experiences, for example *'you see the married women with other men and you start to think that your wife can do the same thing'* or *'you might see this girl in the pub and she will* [have sex] *if you want to'*. They also explained that they *'are men that work shifts'* and they are *'not home all the time'* and so presumably could not always know what their wives did. One man related an incident in which he assaulted his girlfriend with a knife when he saw her speaking to an unknown man. In the discussion another man said that these responses showed that men were *'jealous'* and not *'trusting'* their wives and that *'men were wrong'*. He argued *'you do not want your girl to speak to somebody but you expect her to understand when you speak to another girl'*. The others reacted by defending their behaviour saying that they believed that their shared ideas were acceptable because it *'was natural for a man to react like this'*.

When conflict arose in their relationships due to their behaviour, the women were described as wanting to *'own'* and possess them. This appeared particularly later in marriages when arguments about past relationships arose or when women were seen to want to control their men's activities such as not wanting them to play too much sport.

Conflicts also arose due to perceptions often about women's and men's *'roles'* in the housework. One man explained *'My problem for example is I do not see it the same way...I do not want to do the dishes...I see it as essentially her role to perform in the relationship'*. This same informant later admitted that he physically abused his girlfriend. A few of the men disagreed and felt that men and women can complement each other and both can do the housework. However, in later discussions all of them agreed and stated that the man must be the *'head of the house'* and that he is the *'authority'*. Many of the men spoke of how arguments arose when the woman does not respect this *'authority'* or wanted to *'override'* it.

The term *'to sit on a man's head'* was used often in the discussions and referred to women's behaviour which undermined or failed to acknowledge the man's *'authority'*. As one informant explained *'she wants to tell him to do this ...and if he does not do it then that evening he gets the back or he has to go to sleep on the couch'*. A few men who were active in religious activities particularly strongly stated that the *'man is the head of the house'* and argued that this was supported by their religion. One described how his mother and father had had many arguments and after a while she came to *'realise that she just want to sit on his head'* and her perceptions changed when she *'converted'* and *'has come to lower herself... and accept what her* [husband] *said'*. The same man felt *'a bit disappointed in the way the constitution had been done because it allows the woman to stand equal...'*. Another informant, who admitted to abusing his girlfriend, also described his perceptions *'I do not believe in democracy in the home. That is something up there in the government - not in the house'*. Many of the men distinguished between the *'authority'* in the house (their role) and the *'boss'*. The latter role they often admitted was held by either their *'wife'* or their *'mother'*.

The men also described how conflicts often originate over *'little things'* such as a *'dirty cup'*, *'not watching the pot'*, *'a broken hair dryer'* or *'giving the dog food'*. This would usually be when men were *'frustrated'* about something that happened at work and *'you go home with this mood'* and *'will do something that you know will end in a fight'*. In these cases the real origin of the conflict was outside the home but the reaction would be displaced into the home.

Alcohol

Alcohol was seen by the men as a factor that played a role in the conflicts in multiple ways. During an incidence of abuse related in the group, one informant spoke about taking alcohol beforehand in order *'to get a sparkie- some steam'* because he wanted to beat his partner for suspected infidelity. He said this was necessary as if he is *'sober then it is almost like I am a lamb'*. Other men spoke about how rape can occur when some women do not want to have sex with men when they are drunk. Alcohol was also used to suppress feelings and tensions as other men mentioned going to the *'pub'* when they felt frustrated to avoid violence at home. When men spoke about their childhood experiences in their parents home the issue of alcohol was also raised. More than one informant described *'fathers'* and *'step fathers'* who *'drank a lot'* and one perceived this as part of the reason why his mother had *'nervous'* problems.

Overcrowding

Most of the men lived in overcrowded conditions in sub-economic housing which they recognised as contributing to conflict in the house, in which both children and women become the victims. One informant explained how his father was under *'pressure'* because their family lived in a room within another household and as a result his father made very strict rules for which he (the informant) was often punished if he broke them. Another explained how he and his wife lacked privacy when they wanted to have sex and *'had to wait for the children to go away at weekends'* and this strained their relationship.

Responses to conflicts

Three of the men admitted during the discussions that they abuse their partners. They openly spoke about the incidents, which were received with mixed reactions from the men in the focus group. Some laughed and others said that they found them unacceptable. All the men also spoke about their reactions during arguments and several said they employed a variety of strategies to avoid hitting women. The one said he *'ignores'* her, another said *'all you do is just sit there like a dummy'*. They perceived that this behaviour was the *'best way to treat them rather than to hit them'* because *'women can't take it if men ignore them'* or *'if they give you food and you do not eat it'*. Some of the men said they *'walked away'* because they are afraid that *'if they stay longer*

then I will get to her'. More than one man spoke about going off and *'coming back the next day'* or spoke about staying away weekends. None of the men admitted giving in to the arguments as this would be allowing the women to *'sit on their heads'*. The men that found the abuse unacceptable also spoke about alternatives such as *'talking'* and *'communication'* to their partners as means of dealing with conflict. One of them said he learned this at school and the other said that he learned it as an example from his own parents.

Perceptions of violence

Violence in general was identified as a daily occurrence in these men's lives. They hear and see it particularly *'over weekends when the alcohol flows'*. Apart from the personal incidents that the three men related, the other informants also described stories of violence that they had seen or heard or had experienced as a child in their parents' homes. Most of these incidents were of severe physical injury. When the men were asked what they considered to be violence against women, most of them agreed that it was the physical form such as using the *'hand'* a *'knife'* or when *'you leave a mark'*. Most of the men agreed that shouting and swearing at the woman was not a form of violence and neither was humiliating a woman, as this is *'merely breaking down her humanity'*. One of the men related that his wife, whom he admitted abusing, often told him that *'I could rather hit her than to use dirty words'*.

Experiences as a child

Many of the men related stories of severe discipline in their childhood, in which their fathers had a central role. This resulted in one eventually running away from the home at the age of 14 years. Most of the men said that they did not want to be like their fathers but at the same time they perceived that discipline was required to ensure the children's safety in the environment in which they are raised. More than two men described their childhood experience of being placed in ice cold water as a discipline practice applied by both their parents.

More than one informant talked about observing the abuse that their mothers suffered and spoke about the consequences, such as the mother becoming a *'nervous wreck'* as a result of the *'strict rules'*. However, experiences of parental abuse were not always directly linked to personal use

of violence. One informant who admitted earlier to being an abuser said that his *'parents did not fight...I do not know where I have learned these* [abusive] *manners.'*

Low self-esteem

Most of the men admitted that they do not find it easy to speak about their feelings. They admitted to *'pretend'* a lot and felt that it was due to *'pride'*. It would seem that feelings such as *'frustrations'* are often as a result of *'pressure'* at work where they have to *'accept the shit of the bosses'*. One informant described his experiences of *'racism'* at work, which resulted in him feeling *'belittle'*. He further perceived that conflict at home arose when they get home and the wives also *'belittle'* them further such as wanting them to do household tasks in front of her friends. Another explained that he *'get frustrated'* when he is not able to *'provide adequately'* for the family since he feels he is responsible for them as *'it is one of the things to be a man'*.

Discussion and Summary

The most common causes of conflict between these men and their partners were related to men wanting to assert their perceived right to control women and their households. Conflict arose when they suspected women of infidelity when she spoke to strangers or when they did not know where she was. Another cause was the perception that their partners wanted to control them by undermining their authority as 'head' of the house. The men also had expectations of the woman's role in the house and in relationships, and conflicts often occurred if she did not meet these expectations. A second group of causes of conflicts were as a result of frustrations which originated outside of the relationship such as at work, or due to socio-economic conditions, such as housing and alcohol. These contributed to the feelings of frustration and resulted in the men developing feelings of low self-esteem.

Violence was a daily occurrence in the mens lives as children as well as as adults. The men had a variety of strategies for dealing with conflict, from talking and communicating, ignoring women, refusing to eat their food, staying away weekends and ultimately beating or stabbing them. Men also did not perceive violence in the same way as women and society such as the church and government. Their perception basically incorporated only physical violence. This is

very far removed from the broad inclusive definitions and understanding of academics, and the feminist discourses on gender and violence. Means of getting men to understand violence in the same way as their potential victims might be a first step in raising their awareness.

This study has shown that gender violence is a complex phenomenon with many questions still unanswered. In South Africa understanding and dealing with gender violence might be of greater significance because of the present process of changing and improving the status of women; this will not be effective if their male partners are not adequately informed as well. A great deal of creative work needs to be done to close this gap in knowledge and understanding, and the study in Phase II will to a large extent contribute to starting to explain some of the above complex questions.

Appendix II

MEN's QUESTIONNAIRE
ENGLISH

CARD: A1

Questionnaire Number _____ 1 ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ 6

Date of interview _____ ☐☐☐☐☐☐ 12

Interviewers Number _____ ☐

Factory/Field site_____ ☐☐ 15

Race
	AFRICAN	1
	WHITE	2
	COLOURED	3
	ASIAN	4

☐

Language
	XHOSA	1
	ENGLISH	2
	AFRIKAANS	3

☐ 17

Circle the Section completed:

A	B1	C1	D1	E1
	B2	C2	D2	
		C3	D3	
		C4	D4	
		C5	D5	
		C6	D6	
		C7	D7	
		C8	C8	

No of Current Partners _____ ☐

No of Previous Partners_____ ☐ 19

Appendix II

Section A

I am first going to ask you questions about yourself and your family

1. How old are you?
   (YEARS)_____ 21

2. Where do you live
   _____ 25

3. What standard did you pass at school?
   NO SCHOOLING 1
   SUB A - STD 4 2
   STD 5 - STD 7 3
   STD 8 - STD 10 4

4. Did you do any training after you left school such as technical training or a degree?
   1 YES 2 NO 27

5. What is the title of your job here?
   _____

6. Do you work shifts?
   1. YES 2. NO 30

7. How much do you earn per month? State the amount after deductions
   _____ 34

8. Do you make money from another source?
   1. YES 2. NO

9. What sort of house do you live in? Please choose from the list I read.
   a flat or a maisonette 1
   a house 2
   a room in a house 3
   back room in a yard 4
   a shack 5
   OTHER _____ 6 36

10. Who owns the house ?
    SELF 1
    WIFE 2
    PARENTS 3
    OTHER RELATIVE 4
    LANDLORD 5
    GIRLFRIEND 6
    OTHER_____ 7 37

Section A

11. Please, could you list all the people living in the house. You do not need to give their names, you can say wife, brother, child1 etc.

PERSON

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

TOTAL _____ 38 ☐☐

12. How many rooms in the home are used for sleeping?

_____ ☐

13. Who is the 'head' in the home?

MYSELF	1
WIFE	2
MY MOTHER	3
MY FATHER	4
THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE	5
OTHER _____	6
NO HEAD	7
BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE	8

☐ 41

14. What is the main covering on the floor in your home? Please choose from this list.

No covering - cement only	1
Tiles	2
novilon	3
Carpets	4
Planks	5
OTHER_____	6

☐

15. Do you own any of the following?

a television	YES	1	NO	2	☐ 43
Mnet	YES	1	NO	2	☐
a microwave oven	YES	1	NO	2	☐
a washing machine	YES	1	NO	2	☐ 46
a telephone	YES	1	NO	2	☐
a car	YES	1	NO	2	☐ 48

Section A

I would now like to ask you about religion

16. What religion do you belong to?

NONE	1 → **Q 18**	
CHRISTIAN	2	
MUSLIM	3	☐ 49
HINDU	4	
OTHER _____	5	

17.Would you describe yourself as active in the church (mosque)? ☐

1. YES 2. NO

I now want to ask you about crime

18.Have you ever been reported, detained or arrested by the police?

YES	1	
NO	2	→ **Q 21** ☐ 51
NO ANSWER	3	→ **Q 21**

19. How many times? ☐

_____

20. Could you tell me what the reason was for each of these and also whether you were convicted.

REASON:_____ ☐☐ 54

_____

_____

CONVICTED: 1. YES 2. NO ☐

REASON:_____ ☐☐

_____

_____

CONVICTED: 1. YES 2. NO ☐ 58

REASON:_____ ☐☐

_____

_____

CONVICTED: 1. YES 2. NO ☐ 61

REASON:_____ ☐☐ 63

_____

_____

CONVICTED: 1. YES 2. NO ☐

REASON:_____ ☐☐ 66

_____

_____

CONVICTED: 1. YES 2. NO ☐ 67

21. Have you ever been to jail?

YES	1	
NO	2	➜ **Q 23**
NO ANSWER	3	➜ **Q 23**

☐ 68

22. For how long were you there?

_____

(IF MORE THAN ONCE ADD ALL THE PERIODS)

☐☐☐ 71

23. Are you or have you ever been a member of a gang?

1. YES 2. NO

☐

24 Are you or have you ever been a member of a street committee?

1. YES 2. NO

☐ 73

25. Do you drink alcohol?

YES	1	
NO (not at all)	2	➜ **Q 28**
NO ANSWER	3	➜ **Q 28**
NO (not any more)	4	➜ **Q 27**

☐

26. How often do you drink? Do you drink:

most days	1
weekends	2
2 -3 days per week	3
once a week	4
at least once every month	5
less often	6
OTHER_____	7
NO ANSWER	8

☐ 75

27. Has your alcohol drinking ever caused problems between you and any of your partner(s)?

YES	1
NO	2
NO ANSWER	3

☐

28. Do you smoke dagga/mandrax or use other drugs?

YES	1	
NO	2	➜ **SECTION B1**
NO ANSWER	3	➜ **SECTION B1**
NO (not any more)	4	

☐ 77

Section A

29. How often do you smoke dagga/mandrax? Do you smoke:

most days	1
weekends	2
2 -3 days per week	3
once a week	4
at least once every month	5
less often	6
OTHER_____	7
NO ANSWER	8

☐ 79

30. Has your dagga smoking and mandrax taking ever caused problems between you and any of your partner/s?

YES	1
NO	2
NO ANSWER	3

☐ 80

Section B 1

CARD B1 1 ☐☐

Questionnaire Number: ☐☐☐☐ 6

I would like to ask you questions about your childhood and family life

31. Who raised you as a child?

MOTHER AND FATHER	1
MOTHER ALONE	2
FATHER ALONE	3
GRANDMA ALONE	4
GRAND MA AND PA	5
OTHER _____	6

☐ 7

32. How often did you see your father when you grew up?

Did you see him:

always	1
sometimes	2
occasionally	3
never	4 ➡ **Q 34**
OTHER _____	5
DIED EARLY	6

☐

33. Would you say that he was interested in you:

a lot	1
sometimes	2
never	3
DON'T KNOW	4
NO ANSWER	5
OTHER	6
DIED	7
NOT APPLICABLE	8

☐ 9

34. Who was the 'boss' in the house in which you grew up?

MOTHER	1
FATHER	2
BOTH	3
OTHER_____	4

☐

35. Did your parents hit you when you were a child

YES	1
NO	2 ➡ **Q 37**
SOMETIMES	3
NO ANSWER	4 ➡ **Q 37**

☐ 11

36. How often was it? Was it :

every day	1
every week	2
at least every month	3
seldom	4
never	5
OTHER _____	6
NO ANSWER	7

☐ 12

37. Have you ever seen, heard or known of your father or mothers' boyfriends hurting or beating her ?

YES	1
NO	2➡ **Q 40**
NO ANSWER	3➡ **Q 40**
DON'T KNOW	4➡ **Q 40**
NOT APPLICABLE	5➡ **Q 40**

☐ 13

38. How often did this happen? Did it happen :

weekly	1
monthly	2
occasionally	3
only once	4

☐

39. Have you ever tried to intervene to help her?

1. YES 2. NO

☐ 15

40. Have you ever hit your mother?

1. YES 2. NO

☐

41. Do you have sisters?

1. YES 2. NO ➡ **Q 45**

☐

42. Have you ever seen, heard or known of one of your sisters' husbands(s) or boyfriend(s) hurting or beating them ?

YES	1
NO	2 ➡ **Q 44**
DON'T ANSWER	3 ➡ **Q 44**

☐ 18

43. Have you ever tried to intervene to help her?

1. YES 2. NO

☐

44. Have you ever hit any of your adult sisters?

1. YES 2. NO

☐ 20

45. I now want to ask you questions about your work. Are you happy at work?

YES	1
NO	2
SOMETIMES	3
NO ANSWER	4

☐

46. Do you get frustrated at work?

YES	1
NO	2 ➡ **Q 48**
SOMETIMES	3
NO ANSWER	4

☐ 22

Section B1

47. If you are frustrated at work do you do any of the following?
Please answer yes or no.

1 = YES **2 = NO** **3 = SOMETIMES**

You don't bother to tell any one about it	1	2	3	☐ 23
You speak to someone at work	1	2	3	☐
You speak to a friend	1	2	3	☐ 25
You speak to your wife/girlfriend	1	2	3	☐
You pick an argument with wife/girlfriend	1	2	3	☐
You pick an argument with others	1	2	3	☐ 28
You deal with the problem at the work	1	2	3	☐
You use physical force to sort it out	1	2	3	☐ 30

48. At work men sometimes get angry at each other and often they may fight. Are physical fights common here at work?

1. YES 2. NO ☐

49. Have you ever been involved in a fight at work?

YES	1	
NO	2	➜ **Q 51**
NO ANSWER	3	➜ **Q 51**

☐ 32

50.In which way?

FOUGHT IN A FIGHT	1
TRIED TO STOP A FIGHT	2
OTHER _____	3

☐

51.Have you ever had a physical fight with somebody in your neighbourhood such as in the street or at a party?

YES	1	
NO	2	➜ **Q 53**
NO ANSWER	3	➜ **Q 53**

☐ 34

52. When was the last time this happened?

_____ ☐☐ 36

Section B 1

53.I would now like to ask you some questions about how you view yourself when you are at work and when you compare yourself with other men here at work. Say yes if you agree or no if you disagree with the following statements.

YES = 1 NO = 2

When at work you are satisfied with the person that you are ____ ☐ 37

When at work there are times that you feel that there is a lot wrong with you ____ ☐

You feel that you have a number of good qualities compared with other workers ____ ☐

When at work you wish that you could have more respect for yourself ____ ☐ 40

When at work you feel that you have a lot to be proud of ____ ☐

You feel that you are a person of worth equal to other people here at work ____ ☐

SCORE ☐☐ 44

54.I now would like to ask you questions about how you view women. Say yes if you agree or no if you disagree with the following statements.

YES = 1 NO = 2

A woman's place is in the home ____ ☐ 45

Men should share the work around the house with women, such as doing the dishes, and taking care of the children ____ ☐

If a wife does something wrong then her husband should punish her ____ ☐ 47

A good wife is someone who always obey her husband ____ ☐

The man is the head of the household ____ ☐

A good wife always tries **not** to make her husband angry ____ ☐ 50

Sometimes a man might have to hit his wife/girlfriend to remind her who is boss in the house ____ ☐

If the wife earns more money than the husband/boyfriend then the relationship is heading for trouble ____ ☐

A wife/girlfriend should be able to say no if her husband/ boyfriend wants sex and she does not ____ ☐ 53

The man should have the final say in all family matters ____ ☐

It is OK for a woman to be the boss in the house ____ ☐ 55

SCORE ☐☐☐ 58

Section B 1

55.I would now like to ask you questions about how you view yourself when you are at home with your family. Say yes if you agree or no if you disagree with the following statements.

YES = 1 **NO = 2**

When you are at home with your family you are satisfied with the person that you are ____ ☐ 59

At home there are times that you feel that there is a lot wrong with you ____ ☐

When you are with your family you feel that you have a number of good qualities compared with other men ____ ☐ 61

When at home with your family you wish that you could have more respect for yourself ____ ☐

At home you feel that you have a lot to be proud of ____ ☐

When you are home you feel that you are a person of worth equal to other people ____ ☐ 64

SCORE ☐☐ 66

SECTION B2

CARD B2

1 ☐☐

56. ACCEPTANCE QUESTIONS

I now want to ask you questions about things that happen daily in the community. Many people find themselves in situations where they get angry or they argue with another person and they end up hitting or beating each other. Sometimes this is acceptable, but at other times people think it is wrong. Which of the following situations do you think are always acceptable, sometimes acceptable or not acceptable at all? Here is a card to help you answer the questions.

(REPEAT THE LAST SENTENCE IF NECESSARY)

1 = ALWAYS ACCEPTABLE
2 = NOT ACCEPTABLE
3 = SOMETIMES ACCEPTABLE

a parent to hit his or her child	1	2	3	☐ 3
a teacher to hit a child at school	1	2	3	☐
a neighbour to hit a child	1	2	3	☐ 5
a man to hit his wife/girlfriend	1	2	3	☐
a woman to hit her husband/ boyfriend	1	2	3	☐
a foreman to hit a worker	1	2	3	☐ 8
a mother to hit her daughter in law	1	2	3	☐
a gangster to hit another gangster	1	2	3	☐ 10
a son to hit his mother	1	2	3	☐
a daughter to hit her mother	1	2	3	☐
a man to hit another man of same age or younger	1	2	3	☐ 13
a man to hit an older man	1	2	3	☐
a man to argue with a woman who wasn't a wife or girlfriend or relative and hit her	1	2	3	☐ 15
a woman to hit another woman who wasn't a relative	1	2	3	☐
police to hit a criminal/ thief	1	2	3	☐
a man to hit younger relatives such as younger brothers	1	2	3	☐ 18
a woman to hit younger relatives	1	2	3	☐
people to beat up a criminal in the neighbourhood	1	2	3	☐ 20

57. Are there situations when it is justified for a man to beat a woman?

YES	1
NO	2 ➜ **SECTION C**
SOMETIMES	3

☐ 21

58. In your own words what are these situations.

☐☐ 23

☐☐

☐☐ 27

☐☐

☐☐ 31

SECTION C
IDENTIFYING THE PARTNERS

I would now like to talk to you about your relationship with women. I want you to think back to all the important relationships you had in the last 10 years i.e since November 1987. I am only interested in those relationships where you were married or went out with her for longer than a month. Sometimes people have casual relationships but you do not need to mention those. For example, important relationships are those in which you were married, have lived together, had a child together or went out for more than 1 month. Remember that this information is confidential and all your answers will be kept secret .

Lets start by listing all the women with whom you have a relationship at this moment. For example your wife will be one if you are married. You do not need to give their names. We could use their initials.

CURRENT PARTNERS

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Now let us list all the (important) previous partners that you had in the past 10 years. Remember this will exclude the current partners which you have already mentioned.

PREVIOUS PARTNERS

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IN CURRENT LIST - CONTINUE WITH THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTNER IN CURRENT LIST USE THE GREEN MARTIX QUESTIONNIARE.

SAME FOR THE PREVIOUS PARTNERS. IF ONLY ONE PARTNER IN PREVIOUS PARTNER LIST - CONTINUE WITH THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTNER IN THE LIST USE THE YELLOW MARTIX QUESTIONNIARE.

Section C 1 - Current Partner

CARD C 1 1 ☐☐

Questionnaire Number: ☐☐☐☐ 6

Let us speak about the first one on the list.

1. Is it

your wife	1	**Q ➡ 4**	
a girlfriend that you live with	2	**Q ➡ 4**	
a girlfriend you do not live with	3	**Q ➡ 3**	☐ 7
a man	4	**Q ➡ 2**	

2. Have you ever had a relationship with a woman in the last 10 years?

YES	1	**➡ SECTION D**	☐
NO	2	**➡ END INTERVIEW**	

3. If it is a girlfriend that you are not living with, did you ever live with her?

1. YES 2. NO ☐ 9

4. For how long have you been together now?

_____ ☐

< 3 MONTHS	1	1 - 2 YEARS	4
3 - 5 MONTHS	2	2 - 5 YEARS	5
6 - 11 MONTHS	3	> 5 YEARS	6

5. Is she

older than you	1	
same age as you	2	
younger than you	3	
DON'T KNOW	4	☐ 11

6. Is she

more educated than you	1	
less educated than you	2	
same educated as you	3	☐
DON'T KNOW	4	

7. Does she work?

1. YES 2. NO **➡ Q 9** ☐

8. Does she earn

more than you	1	
less than you	2	
same as you	3	☐ 14
DON'T KNOW	4	

Section C 1

9. Do you have children with her?
   1. YES 2. NO ➡ **Q 11** ☐ 15

10. How many? ☐☐

_____

11. Does she drink alcohol?
   YES 1
   NO 2
   DON'T KNOW 3 ☐ 18

12. Does she smoke dagga or take other drugs?
   YES 1
   NO 2
   DON'T KNOW 3 ☐

13. **IF YES TO EITHER Q 11 & 12**
   Does her alcohol drinking and/or dagga smoking cause problems between you?
   YES 1
   NO 2
   DON'T KNOW 3 ☐ 20

14. Would you say that you have a good relationship?
   1. YES 2. NO ☐

15. How often would you say you argue or there is conflict between you?
Is it:
   every day 1
   every week 2
   at least every month 3
   seldom 4
   never 5 ➡ **Q 24** ☐

16. Do you argue about the following? Answer yes or no.

	YES 1	**NO 2**	**NOT APPLICABLE 3**	
About how household money should be spend.	1	2	3	☐ 23
About how the children should be raised	1	2	3	☐
When she 'sits on your head'	1	2	3	☐ 25
When she answers you back	1	2	3	☐
When she expects you to spend more time with her	1	2	3	☐
When she talk to other men	1	2	3	☐ 28

Section C 1

When she refuses to have sex with you	1	2	3	☐ 29
When you have drunk alcohol	1	2	3	☐
When she suspects that you had affairs	1	2	3	☐ 31
About relatives	1	2	3	☐

17. Are there other reasons for conflict between you that I have not mention? What are they?

_____ ☐ 33
_____ ☐
_____ ☐
_____ ☐
_____ ☐
_____ ☐
_____ ☐ 36
_____

18.When you argue or when you are angry do you do any of the following to make her know how you feel? Answer yes or no.

YES 1
NO 2

You talk to her about the problem	1	2	☐ 37
You ask somebody else to help you	1	2	☐
You ignore her	1	2	☐
You refuse to eat the food that she prepared for you?	1	2	☐ 40
You walk out of the house	1	2	☐
You stay away the night or the weekend	1	2	☐
You threaten to leave her	1	2	☐ 43
You shout at her	1	2	☐
You use dirty language when you argued	1	2	☐
You call her rude names	1	2	☐ 46
You damage something valuable of hers	1	2	☐
You embarrass her in front of others	1	2	☐ 48
You grab, smack or push	1	2	☐
You throw her out of the house	1	2	☐ 50

Section C 1

You refuse to give her money for the running of the house	1	2	☐ 51
You threaten to hit her or throw something at her	1	2	☐
You smash or kick something e.g. door/chair	1	2	☐ 53
You threaten her with a weapon e.g gun/ knife	1	2	☐
You throw something at her	1	2	☐ 55
You give her a light smack	1	2	☐

19. Did you ever force her to have sex with you?

YES	1	➜ **Q 21**
NO	2	
NO ANSWER	3	

☐ 57

20. Did you ever **try to force** her to have sex with you?

YES	1
NO	2
NO ANSWER	3

☐

21. Did any of your arguments get violent?

1 YES 2 NO ➜ **Q 24** ☐ 59

22.Can you tell me what you did?

_____

_____

_____ ☐☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. Did she ever need to go to a doctor or hospital as a result of you hurting her?

1 YES 2 NO ☐ 62

24. In the last year did you ever hit her?

1 YES 2 NO ☐

25. Has she ever hit you?

1 YES 2 NO ☐ 64

CONTINUE WITH SECTION D - CHECK LIST AT THE BEGINNING OF C 1 - PAGE 14

Section D 1: Previous Partner

CARD D 1 1 ☐☐

Questionnaire Number: ☐☐☐☐ 6

Let us talk about your previous relationship

1. Was it a

wife	1 Q➡ **3**	
girlfriend that you lived with her	2 Q➡ **3**	
girlfriend you did not lived with	3 Q➡ **2**	☐ 7

2 If it was a girlfriend that you did not live with did you ever live with her? ☐

1. YES 2. NO

3. For how long were you together?

_____

< 3 MONTHS	1	1 - 2 YEARS	4
3 - 5 MONTHS	2	2 - 5 YEARS	5
6 - 11 MONTHS	3	> 5 YEARS	6

☐ 9

4. Was she

older than you	1
same age as you	2
younger than you	3
DON'T KNOW	4

☐

5. Was she

more educated than you	1
less educated than you	2
same educated as you	3
DON'T KNOW	4

☐ 11

6 Did she work? ☐

1. YES 2. NO ➡ **Q 8**

7. Did she earn

more than you	1
less than you	2
Same as you	3
DON'T KNOW	4

☐ 13

8 Do you have children with her? ☐

1. YES 2. NO ➡ **10**

9. How many?

_____ ☐☐ 16

10. Did she drink alcohol?

YES	1	☐ 17
NO	2	
DON'T KNOW	3	

11. Did she smoke dagga or take other drugs?

YES	1	☐
NO	2	
DON'T KNOW	3	

12. IF YES TO EITHER Q 10 & 11

Did her alcohol drinking and/or dagga smoking cause problems between you? ☐

1. YES 2. NO

13. Would you say that you had a good relationship? ☐ 20

YES 2. NO

14. How often would you say you argued or there was conflict between you?

Was it:	every day	1
	every week	2
	at least every month	3
	seldom	4
	never	5 ➔ **Q 23**

☐

15. Did you argue about the following? Answer yes or no.

YES	**1**
NO	**2**
NOT APPLICABLE	**3**

About how household money should be spend.	1	2	3	☐ 22
About how the children should be raised	1	2	3	☐
When she 'sat on your head'	1	2	3	☐
When she answered you back	1	2	3	☐ 25
When she expected you to spend more time with her	1	2	3	☐
When she talked to other men	1	2	3	☐
When she refused to have sex with you	1	2	3	☐ 28
When you have drunk alcohol	1	2	3	☐
When she suspected that you had affairs	1	2	3	☐
About relatives	1	2	3	☐ 31

Section D 1

16. Were there other reasons for conflict between you that I have not mention? What were they?

_____ ☐ 32
_____ ☐
_____ ☐
_____
_____
_____
_____ ☐ 35
_____

17.When you argued or when you were angry did you do any of the following to make her know how you feel?

YES **1**
NO **2**

You talked to her about the problem	1	2	☐ 36
You asked somebody else to help you	1	2	☐
You ignored her	1	2	☐
You refused to eat the food that she prepared for you?	1	2	☐ 39
You walked out of the house	1	2	☐
You stay away the night or the weekend	1	2	☐
You threatened to leave her	1	2	☐ 42
You shout at her	1	2	☐
You used dirty language when you argued	1	2	☐
You call her rude names	1	2	☐ 45
You damage something valuable of hers	1	2	☐
You embarrassed her in front of others	1	2	☐
You smack, push or grab her	1	2	☐ 48
You throw her out of the house	1	2	☐
You refuse to give her money for the running of the house	1	2	☐
You threaten to hit her or throw something at her	1	2	☐ 51
You smash or kick something e.g. door/chair	1	2	☐ 52

~~Section D 1~~

You threaten her with a weapon e.g gun/ knife	1	2	☐ 53
You throw something at her	1	2	☐
You gave her a light smack	1	2	☐ 55

18 Did you ever force her to have sex?
YES 1 ➜ **Q 20** ☐
NO 2
NO ANSWER 3

19. Did you ever **try to force** her to have sex?
YES 1 ☐
NO 2
NO ANSWER 3

20. Did any of your arguments get violent?
1 Yes 2 No ➜ **Q 23** ☐ 58

21.Can you tell me what you did?

_____ ☐☐ 60
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

22. Did she ever need to go to a doctor or hospital as a result of you hurting her? ☐
1 YES 2 NO

23 When your relationship ended and after you have spilt up did you have arguments?
1 YES 2 NO ➜ **Q 26** ☐ 62

24 Did any of your arguments get violent? ☐
1 YES 2 NO ➜ **Q 26**

25.Can you tell me what you did?

_____ ☐☐ 65
_____
_____
_____
_____

26 In the last year did you ever hit her? ☐
1 YES 2 NO

27. Has she ever hit you? ☐ 67
1 YES 2 NO

SECTION E

CARD E 1 ☐☐

Questionnaire No ☐☐☐☐ 6

ASKED FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IF THE RESPONDENT INDICATED ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

1. Do you or did you ever feel out of control when you argued with your wife/ girlfriend? ☐ 7
   1 YES 2 NO

2 Do you regret doing this to her? ☐ 8
   1 YES 2 NO

3.Would you like help to deal with this? ☐ 9
   1 YES → **REFER**
   2 NO

LAST QUESTION

To end off I would like you to answer one last thig to do. Here is an envelope with two questions in it. I would like you to answer it without me seeing what you do. You can then put the paper back into the envelope and into the box with all the other envelopes. In this way you can be sure that we do not know what you or anybody else has answered. This box will only be opened at the end of the study. Please be as truthful as possible.

END THE INTERVIEW AND THANK THE INFORMANT FOR THEIR TIME, EFFORT AND FOR SHARING THEIR INFORMATION.

REMEMBER TO REFER TO AN AGENCY IF NECESSARY

QUESTIONNAIRE: MATRIX FORMAT

Questionnaire Number: | | | | |

NUMBER A COLUMN FOR EACH OF THE PARTNERS

NO		1	2	3	4	5
1	Is it your wife a girlfriend that you live with a girlfriend you do not live with a man	 1 Q→4 2 Q→4 3 Q→3 4 Q→2	 1 Q→4 2 Q→4 3 Q→3 4 Q→2	 1 Q→4 2 Q→4 3 Q→3 4 Q→2	 1 Q→4 2 Q→4 3 Q→3 4 Q→2	 1 Q→4 2 Q→4 3 Q→3 4 Q→2
2	Have you ever had a relationship with a women in the last 10 years? YES = Y NO = N	Y→ Sect. D N→ end	Y→ Sect. D N→ end	Y→ Sect. D N→ end	Y→ Sect. D N→ end	Y→ Sect. D N→ end
3	If it is a girlfriend that you are not living with, did you ever live with her? YES= Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
4	Foe how long have you been together now? 1 < 3 months 2 3 - 5 months 3 6 - 11 months 4 1 - 2 years 5 3 - 5 years 6 > 5 years	 1 2 3 4 5 6	 1 2 3 4 5 6	 1 2 3 4 5 6	 1 2 3 4 5 6	 1 2 3 4 5 6

NO		1	2	3	4	5
5	Is she older than you 1 same age as you 2 younger than you 3 DON'T KNOW 4	older 1 same 2 youngr 3 DK 4	older 1 same 2 youngr 3 DK 4	older 1 same 2 youngr 3 DK 4	older 1 same 2 youngr 3 DK 4	older 1 same 2 youngr 3 DK 4
6	Is she more educated than you 1 less educated than you 2 same educated than you 3 DON'T KNOW 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4
7	Does she work ? YES = Y NO = N	Y N → **Q 9**	Y N → **Q 9**	Y N → **Q 9**	Y N → **Q 9**	Y N → **Q 9**
8	Does she earn more than you 1 less than you 2 the same as you 3 DON'T KNOW 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4	more 1 less 2 same 3 DK 4
9	Do you have children with her? YES = Y NO = N	Y N → **Q 11**	Y N → **Q 11**	Y N → **Q 11**	Y N → **Q 11**	Y N → **Q 11**
10	How many?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11	Does she drink alcohol? YES = Y NO = N DON'T KNOW = KN	Y N KN	Y N KN	Y N KN	Y N KN	Y N KN

NO		1	2	3	4	5
12	Does she smoke dagga or take other drugs? YES = Y NO = N DON'T KNOW= KN	Y N DK	Y N DK	Y N DK	Y N DK	Y N DK
13	**IF YES TO Q 11 & 12** Does her alcohol drinking and/or dagga smoking cause problems between you? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
14	Would you say you have a good relationship? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
15	How often would you say you argue or there is conflict between you? Is it: every day 1 every week 2 at least every month 3 seldom 4 never 5	1 2 3 4 5 ➡ **Q 24**	1 2 3 4 5 ➡ **Q 24**	1 2 3 4 5 ➡ **Q 24**	1 2 3 4 5 ➡ **Q 24**	1 2 3 4 5 ➡ **Q 24**

NO		1		2		3		4		5	
16	Do you argue about the following. Answer yes or no. YES = Y NO = N NOT APPLICABLE = NA										
	About how household money should be spend.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	About how the children should be raised	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she 'sits on your head'	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she answers you back	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she expects you to spend more time with her	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she talk to other men	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she refuses to have sex with you	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When you have drunk alcohol	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	When she suspects that you had affairs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	About relatives	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

NO		1	2	3	4	5
17	Are there other reasons for conflict between you that I have not mention? What are they? 1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					

NO		1		2		3		4		5	
18	18.When you argue or when you are angry do you do any of the following to make hr know how you feel? Answer yes or no. YES = Y NO = N										
	You talk to her about the problem	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You ask somebody else to help you	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You ignore her	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You refuse to eat the food that she prepared for you?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You walk out of the house	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You stay away the night or the weekend	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You threaten to leave her	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You shout at her	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You use dirty language when you argued	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You call her rude names	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You damage something valuable of hers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You embarrass her in front of others	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
	You grab, smack or push her	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

NO		1	2	3	4	5
18	You refuse to give her money for the running of the house	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	You threaten to hit her or throw something at her	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	You smash or kick something e.g. door/chair	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	You threaten her with a weapon e.g gun/ knife	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	You throw something at her	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	You give her a light smack	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
19	Did you ever force her to have sex with you ? YES = Y NO = N NO ANSWER = NA	Y → **Q 21** N NA	Y → **Q 21** N NA	Y → **Q 21** N NA	Y → **Q 21** N NA	Y → **Q 21** N NA
20	Did you ever **try to** force her to have sex with you ? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
21	did any of your arguments get violent? YES = Y NO = N	Y N → **Q 24**	Y N → **Q 24**	Y N → **Q 24**	Y N → **Q 24**	Y N → **Q 24**

NO		1	2	3	4	5
22	Can you tell me what you did ? 1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
23	Did she ever need to go to a doctor or hospital as a result of you hurting her? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
24	In the last year did you ever hit her? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
25	Has she ever hit you? YES = Y NO = N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N